ENGLISH LITERARY SATIRE BETWEEN 1764 AND 1809

BY

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY Robert Calvin Whitford

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Preface

Since satirical writing commonly depends for its immediate success upon contemporary allusions rather than upon the beautiful expression of immutable truths, any study of satire necessarily involves winnowing away much chaff for the sake of a few grains of corn. This assertion applies particularly to investigation concerning English satire of the reign of George the Third. After the death of Churchill, satires continued to appear in great numbers down to the days of Byron, but of the hundreds of pamphlets scarcely twoscore contained anything of literary merit. Though of a few satirical poems of recognized literary merit, such as those of Chatterton, Cowper, Crabbe, and the poets of the Anti-Jacobin, scholarly editions have been available, this thesis is, for the most part, the result of turning over thousands of dusty pages for the sake of finding in the satirical rubbish heap, along with much that is insignificant and trifling, vulgar, obscure, and inartistic, and much also that is of trivial interest, a little that is of permanent value.

For two reasons, it seemed desirable to investigate especially the satire concerning literature. In the first place, literary satire has been almost entirely neglected while political satire, the only other respectable kind in the romantic period, has been discussed thoroughly by eminent scholars. In the second place, literary satire promised to have a double value because of its own worth as literature and its importance for

the light which it throws upon literary history. Professor S. M. Tucker, in the suggestive introductory chapter of his Verse Satire in England before the Renaissance (New York, 1908), declared the existence of literary satire as a distinct kind. Dr. C. M. Fuess in his dissertation, Lord Byron as a Satirist in Verse (New York, 1912), mentions in a footnote the titles of a few satires of the "Parnassian" sort. It seems, however, that there has been no separate or definite study of literary satire in the period covered by the present investigation.

As a preliminary to a study of the critical features of the verse satires, it seemed desirable to draw up a connected sketch of the history of English satire during the half century between the death of Churchill and the publication of Byron's English Bards and Scotch Reviewers. For this general view of the field, a very brief survey of the satire of this period by Dr. Fuess in his chapter on English Satire from Dryden to Byron has afforded several bibliographical suggestions. After this preliminary sketch, the present study presents a detailed account of the literary satire of the period, indicating that one function of satire is to act as a medium for destructive literary criticism. The analysis of literary satire falls into three divisions: a description of the progressive change in tone of literary satire from Horatian moderation in 1775 to bitterest Juvenalian invective in 1800; an account of the attitude of satire toward sentimentalism and of sentimentality in combination with other more distinctly romantic elements but comparative kindness in criticism of romanticism alone; and a discussion of the use of parody and burlesque as a means of literary criticism during the reign of George the Third.

CHAPTER I

THE COURSE OF SATIRE FROM CHURCHILL TO BYRON

The essential quality of satire is vigorous denunciation of evils. Often the style is harsh, and the tone a tone of stern rebuke. As often the style is smooth and the tone derisively ironic. Less frequently both style and tone are cynically contemptuous. The aim and purpose are generally, but not always, ethical. Sometimes the satirist rails against aesthetic defects or inartistic weaknesses, as Petronius jeered at Trimalchio's bad taste, or Ben Jonson mocked the bombastic diction of the weaker brethern of Elizabethan drama. And although in essence fault-finding, satire accords an important place to praise, for all satirists from Aristophanes down to Edgar Lee Masters have appreciated the effect of contrasting a black character with a white one, a bad man with a good. The distinctive figure of satire is hyperbole; to drive home a general truth the more impressively, specific good is made to appear better and, more commonly, specific bad is shown at its worst. The distinguishing characteristic of satire as a separate kind of composition is adroit demonstration of the absurdity of vices and follies; thus formal writing of this sort stands apart from mere invective on the one hand, and, on the other, from sheer ridicule of men or things clearly neither wicked nor foolish. Of modern times, the old conception of satire as primarily rough and severe has lost ground. The influence of Juvenal has gone over from literature to the plastic arts, and the spirit of satire that remains is smoothly and moderately Horatian.

In English letters men have written satires of various sorts in prose and verse and, most recently, in vers libre. While almost all such writing deals with the shortcomings of organized society, such a piece as

Pope's *Rape of the Lock* or Byron's *Waltz* is more definitely social satire. There has been political satire, also, more of it than of any other variety. And we have ethical and religious satires like the sands of the sea for multitude. Finally, there is literary satire, which rose to prominence rather late in the history of the *genre* but flourished and bore fruit in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It attacks the weaknesses of literary people and their writings, with sometimes by way of contrast a note of praise for a point of strength. It has taken the forms of drama, essay, and prose tale, but most frequently it appears in poetry of didactic tone. Typical literary satires in our language are Suckling's *Session of the Poets*, Dryden's *Macflecknoe*, Pope's *Dunciad*, Byron's *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, and Lowell's *Fable for Critics*. The authors of these poems were literary critics, and along with an amount of moderately accurate historical information their verses contain literary criticism.

The purpose of the present chapter is to outline, by way of preface to a special study of the literary satire of the period, the history of English satire in the years between Churchill and Byron. Because the poems, the only true satires if one adheres to a strict and classical definition of the kind, far outweigh the prose and are of more significance than the satirical drama, this general survey confines itself to the legitimate and direct line of formal verse satire. Few satirists of the late eighteenth century were literary figures of even second-rate importance; several of little worth had ephemeral fame and influence which make them long links in the loose chain which connects the *Rosciad* and *English Bards*. Under such circumstances the student's chief problem is in the determination of relative values. Should this chapter seem to devote too many words to the little literary satirist, William Cowper, the author's only apology must be a reference to the

distinct limitations of his theme.

Among English satirists, Charles Churchill was the least in the company of the great, or a towering Saul in the multitude of the mediocre. Incapable of patient polish, he excelled in harshness. Raging and reigning at the beginning of the decadence of English satire, he made his plebeian bludgeon,- the handiest weapon to his fist,- as efficient for destruction as the broadsword of Dryden or the rapier of Pope. From the time of the publication of his Rosciad in 1761 till ten years after his death, his was a major name among the London rhymers. But he earned as much of notoriety as of renown. The dramatist and player, Arthur Murphy, characterized him thus in 1761:

"Churchill, a rough unwieldy son of earth,
Vain of himself, and foe to other's worth,
Inflam'd with malice, in invective fierce,
A strong uncouth day-laborer in verse!"[1]

Dr. Johnson, who as a Tory had good cause to disapprove Churchill's democratic bias, and as the object of derisive caricature in The Ghost might well be pardoned some personal animosity, persistently called him a blockhead. But he praised his literary fertility: "To be sure, he is a tree that cannot produce good fruit: he only bears crabs. But, Sir, a tree that produces a great many crabs is better than a tree which produces only a few."[2] Succeeding poets looked upon Churchill as the English master of Juvenalian invective. For example, in 1774, Sir William Chambers, or his mercenary champion,

[1] The Expostulation, a Satire, first published in October, 1761, in The Works of Arthur Murphy (London, 1786), v. VII, p. 21.

[2] Boswell's Life of Johnson (Oxford edition) London, 1904, I, 279-280.

replying to a satirical attack by William Mason, warned his enemy:

"With toil thou may'st become at most
A thing resembling Churchill's ghost."[1]

Churchill died in November of 1774. During the four years of his literary career his success had been great and his influence considerable. Even after his death, his work had some brief importance for the progress of English letters. Men quarreled over the intrinsic worth of his achievement,[2]

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[1] A Familiar Epistle to the author of the Heroic Epistle...(London, 1774), p. 18.

[2] To attain some conception of the importance of Churchill in his own day, one has only to glance at even a partial list of the poems which were published concerning him in the last year of his life, and in the follo'ing spring. Here is such a collection of bibliographical evidence, gathered for the most part from the Critical and Monthly Reviews for 1764 and 1765:

1. The Jumble, A Satire addressed to the Rev. Mr. Ch-rch-ll.
2. The Remonstrance, a Poem.
3. The Patriot Poet, A Satire. Inscribed to the Rev. Mr. Ch-----ll. By a Country Curate.
4. Liberty in the Suds, or Modern Characters. By Theophilus Hogarth.
5. Clodius, a Poem. Addressed to Mr. Churchill, and the writers in the Opposition. By G.T...
6. Wilkes and Liberty; or the Universal Prayer.
7. The Cap and Staff; or the Recantation of the Reverend Captain Charles C-----ll. Addressed to John W----s, Esq.
8. Churchill Dissected. A Poem.
9. The Contrast, a familiar epistle, to Mr. C. Churchill, on reading his Poem called Independence. By a Neighbour.
10. The Anti-Times. Addressed to Mr. C----- Ch--ch-ll. In two parts. By the Author.
11. The Triumph of Genius, a Dream. Sacred to the Memory of the lateMr. C. Churchill. By Mr. Lloyd.
12. An Elegy on the Death of the very celebrated Mr. Charles Churchill.
13. Churchill Defended, a Poem. Addressed to the Minority.
14. An Elegy on the Death of the late Rev. Mr. Charles Churchill.
15. The Inefficiency of Satire, a Poem; occasioned by the Death of Mr. Churchill.
16. The Laureat, a Poem, inscribed to the memory of C. Churchill.
17. Churchill, an Elegy. (Bristol, 1765).

and wrote dozens of poems in imitation of his Rosciad.[1] Thus for a space Charles Churchill blazed like a comet in the glittering firmament of the Age of Johnson. Then he flashed into nothingness, leaving behind only a few sparks of star-dust to flicker briefly in the steady light of the fixed planets. To his contemporaries, Churchill seemed a literary figure of first-rate importance, comparable to Johnson and far beyond his schoolmate William Cowper. In half a century his name was almost forgotten, while Cowper's was only just beginning to be remembered. Yet Churchill had the directness and force which achieve literary greatness of one sort, and though he lacked that appreciation of beauty which is essential for true art, he managed to win a respectable place among the minor poets. His chief distinction for twentieth century scholarship is that he influenced the poetry of Byron.

In 1763, when he was at his prime, Churchill was by no means the only successful satirist in the British Isles. Therefore he should not be left to stand alone as the only immediate predecessor of the baker's dozen of poets in whose work we shall trace the course of satire in the succeeding half century. Dr. Johnson himself was a conspicuous satirist, and though his London and The Vanity of Human Wishes were now a score of years behind him, his caustic strictures upon writers and works continued to exert a strong influence over English men of letters. Dr. Goldsmith was already a person of note, though

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[1] This is literally true. In 1764, for example, appeared the meritless Smithfield Rosciad (Mo. Rev., XXX, 158). In the following year The Hibernian Rosciad by S[arah] K[ing] was published in Dublin. This poem was a bona fide critical analysis of the Irish players, in emulation of Churchill's analysis of the qualities of those of London; Miss King followed her model in giving the chair to Garrick. Another imitation, Hugh Kelly's Thespis (1766-1767) was the initial cause of a hotly contested pamphlet war. The Theatres, a Poetical Dissection (1772) has been attributed to Garrick; its anonymous author "Sir Nicholas Nipclose" certainly displayed keen wit in his pitiless and perhaps too indiscriminate condemnations of dramatic authors.

not yet a poet of distinction; within the next decade he wrote satirical verse of permanent significance.[1] Robert Lloyd was still alive, the author of the poem which gave Churchill the idea for the *Rosciad*, *The Author: an epistle to Bonnell Thornton, Esq*. Thornton himself had just published that burlesque *Ode for Saint Caecilia's Day* which won the approval of Dr. Johnson.[2] His *Battle of the Wigs* (1768) brought him new renown. In this mock-heroic piece in avowed imitation of Dr. Garth's *Dispensary*, Dr. Thornton held up to derision a petty controversy between two groups of medical men without rousing the enmity of either side,-- a remarkable achievement. There were besides many writers of anonymous poems which possessed some of the qualities of effective satire.[3]

The second year after Churchill's death saw the publication of a great monument of a kind of satire as different as possible from *The Apology*, *The Ghost*, *The Times*, the *Epistle to William Hogarth*, and *The Rosciad*. Churchill's method of attack was personal, and direct. His satire was original

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[1] *The Deserted Village* contains satirical passages. There are three or four clever quatrains in the *Citizen of the World*, burlesquing the conventional newspaper verses of the day. The *Mad Dog* elegy is famous. Yet *Retaliation*, unfinished as it is, best represents Goldsmith's satirical vein.

[2] Boswell's Johnson, I, 280. Parodies of *Alexander's Feast* were many in those days. In addition to this piece, *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day, adapted to the ancient British music, viz., the salt-box, the jew's-harp, the marrow-bones and cleaver, the humstrum or hurdy-gurdy, etc*., and an imitative passage in the *New Bath Guide*, a few such odes were:
An Ode to Mr. Pitt (*An Asylum for Fugitive Pieces*, London, 1885, pp. 78-82.)
Shakespeare's Feast (*New Foundling Hospital for Wit*, London, 1784, V, 23-28.)
An Ode on a Bachelor Meeting at Cambridge (*Foundling Hospital*, V, 75-80.)
Ode to Bacchus (Poems by Anthony Pasquin, 2d. ed., I, 180-186.)
Frogmore Fete (Works of Peter Pindar, III, 306-315.)
Fitzgig's Triumph; or, *the Power of Riot*.....by David Garrick (New Foundling Hospital, II, 215-221.)

[3] Such a one was H. Dalrymple whose *Rodondo*; *or the State Jugglers* (1763), a vigorous political satire in heroics whose force depends largely upon antithesis, seems to have earned a considerable vogue by its impetuous denunciation of Churchill, Wilkes, Lloyd, and their *North Briton*. *The Triumph of Brutes*, an anti-Caledonian satire of the same year, has a distinct literary flavor in spite of crudities.

in the spirit of Juvenal, crude, bitter as aloes, vivid and keen as a blue flame, forceful, sardonic. The author of the New Bath Guide wrote in polite, sprightly, Horatian fashion, attacking individuals only by veiled insinuations under cover of gently deriding typical representatives of foolishness and wickedness, the quack doctor, the booby, the impressionable maiden, and the clerical hypocrite.

Even well into the nineteenth century, the name of Christopher Anstey, the author of the New Bath Guide, was remembered with honor as that of a maker of exceedingly clever social satire. Not only was his name preserved; his work exerted no small influence upon the trend of English satirical poetry in both Great Britain and the United States. It seems certain that the witty epistles in verse which brought renown to Tom Moore in London, and those also which did a like service for James Russell Lowell in Boston, were descended in direct line from the Anstey's New Bath Guide. But his small vein of genius ran out before he had completed that one piece of pungent satire, and his several later poems were weak and trivial.

The reason why Anstey wrote one successful satire, and only one, is to be found in his personality and environment. He was a country squire whose leisure time was devoted to a modest and moderate pursuit of classical culture. He read and wrote Latin like a gentleman. Indeed the only spirited adventure of his youth was in the delivery of two Latin orations at Cambridge,[1] and his first published work was a Latin translation of Gray's Elegy.[2] The chief variation from his fixed mode of living at Trumpington in Cambridgeshire,

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[1] For a solemn narrative of his funny contest with the authorities of King's College over the propriety of requiring Senior Bachelors to deliver Latin orations in the schools, see his son John's biographical preface to his edition of The Poetical Works of the Late Christopher Anstey, Esq. (London, 1808), pp. v-vii.

[2] For an account of the success of this venture, in which Anstey collaborated with the Rev. Dr. W.H. Roberts, see the Works, xv-xvi, and Maier, Walter, Christopher Anstey und der New Bath Guide, 10-11.

came with his occasional visits to Bath. Thus the limitations of his experience and his intellect equipped him for producing one notable work in mild ridicule of the conspicuous adsurdities in the conventionsl, provincial society which he knew.

Although to his contemporaries Anstey's work seemed original it was really only a new grouping of old materials. A passage from a letter which Horace Walpole wrote to George Montagu on June 20, 1766, will serve to describe Anstey's satire as well as to illustrate its popularity: "It is called the New Bath Guide. It stole into the world, and for a fortnight no soul looked into it, concluding its name was its true name. No such thing. It is a set of letters in verse, all kinds of verses, describing the life at Bath, and incidentally everything else --- but so much wit, so much humour, fun, poetry, so much originality, never met before. Then the man has a better ear than Dryden or Handel.[1] Apropos to [sic] Dryden, he has burlesqued his St. Cecilia that you will never read it again without laughing. There is a description of a Milliner's box ... a Moravian ode, and a Methodist ditty, that are incomparable, and the best names that ever were composed. I can say it by heart, though a quarto, and if I had time would write it you down, for it is not yet reprinted, and not one to be had."[2] The satire upon society was conventional enough. Methodism was a common subject for ridicule or serious vituperation in verse, though Anstey outdid his rivals in this sort of writing by describing in a burlesque Methodist hymn such an outrage as the popular mind asso-

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[1] Prof. Saintsbury commends the Guide as a model of anapestic verse, History of English Prosody, II, 534.

[2] Letters of Walpole, ed. Toynbee, VII, 7-8. Letter No. 1118.

ciated with Nonconformists' religious ecstasies.[1] The letter form for narrative was in such general use that Anstey's only claim to originality with regard to it was in applying it to the writing of humorous narrative in verse. But he had a precedent even for the use of his peculiar verse form, the anapestic couplet,[2] in treating his peculiar subject, the society of a fashionable watering place. Among the poems of John Byrom is one in anapestic couplets, a lively piece called "Tunbridgiale, Being a description of Tunbridge, in a Letter to A Friend in London."[3] Since this poem was published in London as a broadside in 1726, besides being preserved in manuscript by Byrom and his friends, it may well have come under the eyes of Anstey.

More than a score of years after the publication of the New Bath Guide, Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, declared in a letter to Lady Craven that Anstey, "if he had a friend upon earth, would have been obliged to him for being knocked on the head, the moment he had published the first edition of the Bath Guide; for, even in the second, he had exhausted his whole stock of inspiration, and has never written anything tolerable since."[4] Certainly none of his later work approached in merit or success his first venture in English verse, and even that was decidedly overrated by his contemporaries.

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[1] About this time Samuel Foote was retaliating against Methodist criticism of theatrical immorality by producing a farce, The Minor, for the express purpose of deriding Whitefield and his followers. Cf. Fyvie, Wits, Beaux, and Beauties of the Georgian Era, pp. 38-40.

In the year of the New Bath Guide, appeared a poem about the contest between Whitefield and Foote, The Methodist and Mimic (Mo. Rev., March, 1766, XXXIV, 244), and another satire on the same general subject, The Methodist, by the Rev. Evan Lloyd. Ten years later the spirit of intolerance cropped out again in a series of pretty widely circulated satirical pamphlets against the Methodists.

[2] The Guide is written in a variety of metres, but the anapests are most conspicuous.

[3] The Poems of John Byrom, ed. Adolphus William Ward, Vol. I, Miscellaneous Poems, Part I. Printed for the Chetham Society, 1894. pp. 10-18.

[4] Walpole, Letters, XIV, 100; letter dated Dec. 11, 1788.

In 1767 he published two poems, a smooth elegy in blank verse and an unfortunate attempt at political satire in the manner of Churchill. The latter, The Patriot, a Pindaric Epistle to Lord Buckhorse,[1] is a mock-heroic account of a fight at the Westminster Election, and was intended for a general satire upon political corruption. Though there is something of realistic directness in lines like:

> "While you with frequent fist assail'd him,
> With chuckers in the mazzard nail'd him,
> And clicks upon the muns regal'd him;"[2]

the piece as a whole is uninteresting and weak. This was practically the last of Anstey's versifying as an independent rhymester. All of his later pieces were written under the influence of petticoats and blue stockings.

Upon Anstey's removal to Bath in 1770, he found himself a member of the literary coterie which gathered about Mrs. John Miller and her husband in their villa of Bath-easton.[3] Lady Miller's circle corresponded in its provincial way to the metropolitan "Bluestocking assemblies" of Mrs. Montagu. A group of ladies and gentlemen of literary taste and pretension used to substitute for the cards which were the chief social diversion of the period, cultured conversation and, what was more amusing, poetical competition. Once a week Lady Miller gave out the subject upon which the poets were to work. As each maker finished his copy of verses, he took it to the villa and there

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[1] Buckhorse was a noted pugilist, but not so prosperous as modern champions of the ring, if one may judge by his portrait which appears in John Anstey's edition of his father's works.

[2] The Patriot, ... London, 1767.

[3] Anstey, Works, xlii.

dropped it into a huge vase dedicated to the muses. An ancient Roman vase it was, and presumably once the property of Cicero, "having been dug up at his celebrated Tusculan Villa, near Rome."[1] At the end of the week, the whole society met to listen to the verses. A much coveted prize was awarded, a myrtle twig from the hand of Lady Miller.[2] Anstey became not only the laureat but the champion of this literary court. His first poem to achieve publicity (it won notoriety rather than fame) after he came to Bath, was written in defence of the Batheaston group, and incidentally of himself, against attacks in satirical verse which had been appearing in newspapers.[3] The poem is interesting because in one passage of it Anstey crossed swords with his most conspicuous rival as a satirist, the author of the Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers.

The remaining poetical works of Christopher Anstey are of little importance for the history of satire. Most of them were occasional pieces

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[1] Anstey, Works, 227.

[2] For further information concerning the Batheaston coterie and its series of annual anthologies (Poetical Amusements at a Villa near Bath), see Walpole's Letters, IX, 132-137, etc., Miss Seward's Letters, vol. II, and Maier's Anstey, 21-25. Cf. also Tinker, The Salon and English Letters, pp. 117-122.

[3] The Priest Dissected: a Poem, addressed to the Rev. Mr. ----, Author of Regulus, Toby, Caesar, and other Satirical Pieces in the Public Papers, Bath, 1774. The pamphlet consists of two parts: Stanzas occasioned by Reading a very satirical copy of verses highly reflecting on Mrs. xxxxxx's Poetical Assembly at Bath-Easton, and a more formal satire in heroic couplets. The first part gives evidence of the Batheaston poets' absurdly unpoetic practice of writing not only upon subjects but in rhyme schemes laid down by the fair director of the coterie. The heroic couplets of the rest of the work are sometimes sharp, but unfortunately so, for Anstey discovered too late that he had been mistaken in his victim, who never had written anything to call forth the virulent reply. Although Anstey, like a gentleman, endeavored to suppress the poem, it spread far and did irreparable injury to his own reputation, as we may see from letters of Walpole and sarcastic comment in the Monthly Review. The incidental indignant denial of authorship of the Heroic Epistle brought out retaliatory mockery from William Mason in his next Epistle, that to Dr. Shebbeare.

for the vase at Bath-easton, not entirely lacking in thought, wit, and rhythm. The best of them, indeed, An Election Ball in Poetical Letters from Mr. Inkle, a freeman of Bath, to his Wife at Glocester, was so popular as to go through half a dozen editions in about ten years. It was for the most part a clever imitation or sequel of the New Bath Guide, and its humor was found chiefly in rather crude satire upon political corruption, social climbing, and foolish fashions at Bath. Its detailed account of dress and manners should make it a valuable document for the student of the history of culture. Walpole was as uncritical as unkind when he wrote to Mason, the secret author of the Heroic Epistle which Anstey had publicly disparaged: "His Somersetshire Dialogue[1] is stupidity itself; you described it prophetically before you saw it."[2] He was right, however, in declaring that Anstey never wrote anything else to compare with the New Bath Guide.[3]

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[1] The Election Ball was published originally at Bath, in the Somersetshire dialect, but was so favorably received there that the author rewrote it in plain English for publication at London. (Anstey, Works, 204).

[2] Letters, IX, 328-332. 1887. To the Rev. William Mason. Feb. 18, 1776, p. 328.

[3] One more poem of Anstey's is of interest, though not for its intrinsic value. In 1795 he published at Bath a moral piece called The Farmer's Daughter, in emulation of the similar poems produced by or under the protection of Miss Hannah More. In form and style and general fable it bears a striking resemblance to Wordsworth's Lucy poems. Anstey's tale is of a poor rustic maiden who, having been betrayed by a rakish soldier, wanders out into a snowstorm and dies. Now in Wordsworth's Lucy Gray ("composed 1799, published 1800", Oxford edition of the Poetical Works, pp. 82-83), we find a heroine who similarly died in a snowstorm, although she was too young to have had a lover. Anstey's poem begins:

"Keen was the blast, and bleak the morn,
When Lucy took her way....."

Another stanza runs:

"As spotless as the blooming flower,
Which long unheeded grew,
She little reck'd her beauty's power,
Or e'er its dangers knew."

And in She dwelt among the untrodden ways ("Composed 1799, published 1800," same edition, p. 109), is this perfect quatrain:

A violet by a mossy stone
Half hidden from the eye!

Although Anstey's first satirical work, like Churchill's Rosciad, bred a host of imitations,[1] only a few, such as Hoole's Modern Manners, were of any importance in literary history. Yet the New Bath Guide did exert an influence over many phases of literary development in Great Britain. In the history of the English novel, for instance, this satire is of importance because it gave at least several suggestions to Smollett for the characters and incidents in The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker.[2] The drama, also, was indebted to Anstey, for Sheridan seems to have taken hints from him for some of the passages of clever satire in The Rivals and The School for Scandal. Certainly Sheridan was sufficiently an admirer of the Bath Guide to imitate it in his poem, The Ridotto of Bath, which he read at the opening of the new Assembly Rooms on September 30, 1771.[3] In general, the Guide, unassisted by the other poems, kept Anstey's name alive to the days of the Romantic Triumph.

(Cont'd) --Fair as a star, when only one
Is shining in the sky."

The same metre, a similar simile, a similar heroine, -- the only difference is the difference between omniscient genius and the dim groping of mediocrity!

[1] For a discussion of several such poems, some of which have been attributed to Anstey himself, see Maier, pp. 157-177, VII. Nachahmungen des New Bath Guide. A few titles of imitation noted in the reviews and not mentioned by Maier are:

Tunbridge Epistles from Lady Margaret to the Countess of B. (Mo. Rev., May, 1767, XXXVI, 409.)
The New Brighthelmstone Directory, or Sketches in Miniature of the British Shore, Durham, 1770, (Mo. Rev., March, 1770, XLII, 250).
Margate in Miniature; or the New Margate Guide, (Mo. Rev., Oct. 1770, XLIII,326).
The Camp Guide; in a series of Letters from Ensign Tommy Toothpick, to Lady Sarah Toothpick, and from Miss Nelly Brisk, to Miss Gadabout (Mo. Rev., Aug., 1778, LIX, 155.)
The Westminster Guide, a Poem, (Mo. Rev., Aug., 1784, LXXI, 148).
The New Margate Guide: or Memoirs of Five Families out of Six (Mo. Rev., Aug., 1799, XXIX, 340-341).

In the New Foundling Hospital for Wit (edit. 1784), Vol. IV, pp. 74-78, is a poem in the style of the Guide, which is so much better than the ordinary imitation as to be attributed to Anstey himself. It is entitled "An Epistle to a Friend in the Country".

[2] Sir Walter Scott first pointed out that Smollett was indebted to Anstey, not Anstey to him. See Maier, 177-182.

[3] Maier, 158. The poem is quoted, pp. 199-203.

Mathias, in the Pursuits of Literature (1794), refers to him as "the very ingenious author of the Bath Guide."[1] George Dyer mentions the Guide as a typical humorous poem.[2] And it had demonstrable influence upon the poetic product of Byron and, more conspicuously, of Thomas Moore.[3]

Next to Anstey, the most noted and notable satirist in the years immediately following the death of Churchill was "Malcolm MacGreggor". And Malcolm, so strange are the ways of classicism, was William Mason, the frigid author of Caractacus, a tragedy. Stranger still, and wonderful in our eyes, the poet was proud of Caractacus, but refused to acknowledge the works of MacGreggor. Likewise he wrote a dull, methodical, didactic poem called The English Garden (Book I, 1772), in several books published at intervals of years. Almost nobody read it. But his Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers (1773), one of the satires which he denied himself, taught, along with liberal political principles, the same doctrines about landscape gardening as did his formal didactic poem, and it seems to have been rather widely read and much applauded.

In order to understand the popularity of the Heroic Epistle, it is necessary to observe the fact that satire suited the temper of the times. Political satire was a kind of no small import in the days of the Stamp Act and the Boston Tea Party. When Mason surreptitiously sent his poem to the press, there were many recent precedents for its attack upon royalty and the party in power.[4] Poetical epistles were a common vehicle of British satire, as they

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[1] Pursuits of Literature, (1st Amer. ed., Phila., 1800), p. 271.

[2] Poems by George Dyer, London, 1801, p. 325.

[3] Maier, pp. 187-194. Cf. also Fuess, Lord Byron as a Satirist in Verse.

[4] Cf. for example, The Expostulation (London, 1768) which (p.8) characterizes the administration thus:

"We believe in Gold and Power, and adore them,
And therefore hold no other Gods before them."

Similar pieces in defence of the Tories and vilification of liberalism were

had been since the days of Pope and Arbuthnot, and many of them discussed the evils of English politics.[1] One inconspicuous poem, The Satirist (1771), affords an instructive dark picture of the reading public to whom Mason's work was to be offered. The author urges the need of strong satire for the reformation of England. If mere notoriety is their object, he says, poets may appeal to the public taste and

"With modern frenzy make our genius known
By a bold Satire levell'd at the throne."

He plainly recognizes democratic leanings in the common people's liking for political poetry of the Wilkes- and- Liberty sort. But he seriously deprecates all satire of faction, and declares the ethical aim of the true satirist thus:

"Let Satire's wrath reclaim a harden'd race."[2]

In an atmosphere of political turmoil, then, where the force of satire was generally appreciated, William Mason produced his Epistle to Sir William Chambers in 1773. Although not his first piece of the kind,[3] it was the first to achieve popular recognition. The poem is an annotated mockery of the early landscape gardener, Sir William Chambers, in seventy-three heroic couplets of hippopotamous sprightliness. For the most part it ridicules the absurdities of the Dissertation on Oriental Gardening which Chambers had published in the previous year,[4] but it incidentally provokes laughter at

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(Cont'd)
Sedition (1770) and The Remonstrance (1770). The former is interesting for its attack on Mrs. Kate Macaulay and Edmund Burke, the latter, for its vigorous apology for the political character of Dr. Johnson.

[1] An example of some interest is A Poetical Epistle to the Right Hon. Lord M xxxxxxx by a gentleman of the King's Bench Prison (London, 1768), dedicated in irony to John Earl of Bute; it is a mild plea for freedom of speech and of the press, not devoid of touches of keen sarcasm.

[2] The Satirist: a Poem (London, 1771), pp. 3 and 26.

[3] He had written in 1748 a formal satire called Isis against Oxford University, and particularly the Jacobite tendencies of many of its members. The poem is remembered only as the provocation for Thomas Warton's little less forgotten Triumphs of Isis.

[4] A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening; by Sir William Chambers, Knt. Comp-

the court and at the King.[1] Though not so lively as the Bath Guide, the satire is still fairly readable, and even today a reader who has waded through the Dissertation has a distinct relish for Mason's pitiless display of its absurdities.

The Heroic Epistle was a great success. Mason was fortunate in the friendship of Horace Walpole, who expressed great admiration for the poem and did much to make it popular.[2] Wrapped with unusual tightness about this production, the cloak of anonymity aroused interest by piquing the public curiosity.[3] Anstey, as we have seen, felt obliged to deny its authorship and deprecate its sentiments concerning royalty. Among other men of letters who were suspected of having written it were Temple Luttrell[4] and Soame Jenyns.[5] Richard Owen Cambridge, the dean of polite satirists of the day, is said to have been so far inspired by the Epistle as to write forty additional lines for

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troller General of his Majesty's Works. 2d ed. London 1773. This sentence from p. 161 may have suggested to Mason the title for his poem: "Natural Gardening, when treated upon an extensive plan, when employed with judgment, and conducted with art, is perhaps as superior to all other sorts of culture, as heroick verse is to every other species of writing."

[1] The reputation of Mason for disliking the king won him the highest honor he ever received at the hands of a modern scholar, the suggestion that he might have been the author of the letters of Junius; see Notes and Queries, ser. 1, vol. III, no. 83, May 31, 1851, p. 432. Of course the suspicion was without justification; even the mild acid of his sarcastic Epistle he seems to have owed in part to Horace Walpole. Cf. Hartley Coleridge, Lives of Northern Worthies, ed. by his brother (London, 1852), vol. I, p. 351.

[2] Letters, ed. Paget-Toynbee, VIII, 251, 257-261, 276-277, 301.

[3] For almost a century, Mason's authorship of the Heroic Epistle was not indisputably established. But the publication of Walpole's letters removed all doubt. See especially Walpole's letter to Mason of March 27, 1773 (No. 1456, pp. 257-261 in Vol. VIII of the Paget-Toynbee edition), and The Letters of Thomas Gray including the correspondence of Gray and Mason, ed. Duncan C. Tovey, (London, 1913), II, 283. But that the secret, like most such, was imperfectly preserved, is shown by this sententious sentence from a letter which Miss Anna Seward wrote on April 9, 1788: "In professed satire, we have a Juvenal and an Horace in Churchill and Johnson; since, though the former was Johnson's model, the polished elegance of his verse is Horatian; while a new species of satire, in the heroic epistles of Mason, has perhaps hit the true tone of satire better than any of them."- Letters of Anna Seward, in six volumes (Edinburgh, 1811), II, 86.

[4] Walpole, Letters, VIII, 255 and 257. Walpole himself was similarly suspected.

[5] Walpole, Letters, VIII, 276-277. Jenyns was the literary gentleman

it.[1] Scribblers imitated its title and, to some extent, its style.[2] The reviewers were kind to it. In general, Mason's anonymous satire enjoyed unusual popularity,[3] as is vividly suggested by this sentence from one of Walpole's Letters: "Sir William Chambers consoles himself with its having sold him three hundred copies of his book."[4]

The following spring saw the publication of *An Heroic Postscript*

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whose *Free Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil* Dr. Johnson powerfully rebuked. He published poetic *Miscellanies* in 1770.

[1] Cambridge was a gentleman of note but somewhat of a dilletante. His chief poetical work was *The Scriberiad*, an heroic poem in six books (London, 1751), in which he poked rather ponderous fun at antiquarians and learned societies in general. The preface is a suggestive essay upon the nature and history of mock-heroic poetry. - For a hint of his addition to the *Heroic Epistle* see Walpole's *Letters*, VIII, 301, Note 1.

[2] There were dozens of "Heroic Epistles" during the next ten years. The best of them, *An Heroic Epistle to the Right Honourable the Lord Craven* (1775) was the avowed work of William Combe, who lived to accomplish something of literary worth in the *Tours of Doctor Syntax* (1810 etc.). The *Monthly Reviewer* wrote concerning this epistle: "This little poem is written with a degree of spirit and elegance, worthy the Author of the *Original* Heroic Epistle, and is one of the best satires we have lately seen." (Mo. Rev., LIV, Feb. 1776, 163.) In the following year Combe reached the height of scribbling notoriety by the publication and instant wide circulation of *The Diaboliad*, the *ne plus ultra* of virulent personal satire. This infernal poem begat several other similar pieces, such as *The Diabolady*, *The Anti-Diabo-lady*, *Additions to the Diaboliad*, etc., some of which Combe wrote.

The contemptible villain, Leonard McNally, who afterwards made a handsome living by posing as an Irish patriot and at the same time informing against the Irish revolutionary party, wrote two indecent satires which gained some reputation through being written "after the manner of the celebrated *Heroic Epistle to Sir W. Chambers*." (Mo. Rev. LVI, Apr. 1777, 312-313.) The poems were: *An Heroic Epistle from Donna Teresa Pinna y Ruiz to Richard Twiss* Esq. (1777) and an *Heroic Answer from Richard Twiss* (1777).

[3] Both Epistle and Postscript were adjudged of sufficient importance to be republished in the *New Foundling Hospital for Wit* and also in the important collection called *The School for Satire*.

[4] Walpole, VIII, 257. Cf. the *Dissertation*, 2d edition, page 112, where, in the preface to an "Explanatory Discourse by Tan Chet-qua, Cf Quang-chew-fu, Gent.", the author remarks that his work has been generally liked, in France as well as in England, but has not been understood.

to the Public, in which the poet promised, to the joy of Horace Walpole[1] and the reviewers,[2] to satirize noble grafters of the House of Lords if occasion should demand.[3] The poem ends with this fierce apostrophe:

"Yes, ye faithless crew,
His Muse's vengeance shall your crimes pursue,
Stretch you on satire's rack, and bid you lie
Fit garbage for the hell-hound, Infamy."[4]

A more interesting passage is that in which the anonymous author urges the reviewers to mention him

"Tho' not with Mason and with Goldsmith put,
Yet cheek by jowl with Garrick, Coleman, Foote."[5]

Soon after the publication of the Postscript, appeared a reply, written in the general style of the heroic epistle. This poem, a rather long Familiar Epistle in octosyllabic couplets, is apparently the work of Chambers himself. He condemns the harsh and personal vituperation of Juvenalian satire in general, and urges the author of the Heroic Epistle to turn to imitation and emulation of Horace. There is detailed criticism of the text of the Heroic Epistle, with veiled accusations of cowardice and plagiary. A passage

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[1] He had urged Mason to undertake more directly political writing (VIII, 258), but he found the Postscript not so good as the Epistle (VIII, 424).

[2] Gentleman's Mag., XLIII, Feb., 1774, 85; Mo. Rev., L, Feb., 1774, 154-155.

[3] In The Patricians: or, a candid examination into the merits of the principal speakers of the house of Lords, Thomas Hallie Delamayne did exactly what Mason promised to do, attacked the boodle-gatherers of the Upper House. Indeed he roundly asserts that all the bishops but two are venal, and calls loudly upon Chatham to fight corruption. (2d edit., London, 1773, pp. 21, 32.) He had written a similar poem, The Senators (1772) concerning the speakers of the House of Commons. The two satires were more energetic than elegant, but yet valuable for the cause of the liberal Whigs.

[4] New Foundling Hospital for Wit, 1784 edit., vol. II, p. 22; An Heroic Postscript to the Public, occasioned by their Favourable Reception of a Late Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers, Knt., etc. by the author of that Epistle, ll. 107-110.

[5] New Foundling Hospital, II, 21; ll. 79-80.

which gives a fair notion of the style of the piece, the following is interesting for the sidelight which it casts upon the libel-dodging methods of scribblers:

"All petty rogues, to prove your strength,--
You may attack with names at length;
But when you mean to maul your betters,
Choose dashes, ___ ___ ___ and Initial Letters."[1]

Mason's next satirical venture was one which should be of special interest to American scholarship, for it was a poem in mockery of Tory inability to cope with the political crisis in America, and it was published in 1776. The Ode to Mr. Pinchbeck upon his Newly-invented Patent Candle-snuffers is only one of several Whig odes about the American Revolution that are preserved in the New Foundling Hospital for Wit, but is rather wittier than most of them. Mason's Ode consists chiefly of an appeal to the inventor to snuff old England's candle, which is burning badly because of Tory interference, and to see about the manufacture of a huge Extinguisher for the Continental Congress. It is the first poem to which he attached his pseudonym of Malcolm M'Gregor, Esq.,[2] a name chosen because of the recent restoration of appellation and clan rights to the McGregors. In the following year he published An Epistle to Dr. Shebbeare and, in the same pamphlet, An Ode to Sir Fletcher Norton, in imitation of Horace, Ode VIII, Book IV. The ode, antimonarchical, needs no particular comment. The epistle is similar politically, and varies in tone from the mild

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[1] A Familiar Epistle to the Author of the Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers, and of the Heroic Postscript to the Public (London, 1774), p. 2. On the next page, the poet hints that his adversary tried to avoid the accusation of libel by referring to Mallet as Mallock. On the contrary, Mallet was in fact an Anglicised pen-name of the Scot, David Malloch. (Enc. Brit.)

[2] Also spelled MacGreggor and Macgregor.

irony of:

> "O For a thousand tongues! and every tongue
> Like Johnson's, arm'd with words of six feet long."

to the rank and pitiless lampooning of:

> "Then should my Tory numbers, old Shebbeare,
> Tickle the tatter'd fragments of thy ear!"[1]

For five years after the publication of the Epistle to Dr. Shebbeare, Malcolm MacGreggor was silent. But in 1782 a new political poem appeared over his signature, a pastoral dialogue. The Dean and the Squire is its title, in imitation of The Squire and the Parson by Soame Jenyns. The argument is an ironical rehearsal by Dean Tucker and Jenyns of their reasons in favor of the Tory position in politics. Although both are endeavoring to confute Locke's assertion of the inherent political equality of all men, their contentions conflict in amusing fashion. But the most interesting part of The Dean and the 'Squire is a little prose note at the end of it,[2] in which MacGreggor apparently denies all claim to the authorship of a cleverer and more significant piece of satire, the Archaeological Epistle to Dean Milles.

This epistle is one of the most entertaining documents in the Chattertonian controversy, and not the least thoughtful. It appeared in the spring of 1782, soon after Dean Milles' edition of the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley, and methodically derided and belittled the chief arguments in favor of Rowley's authorship. The effectiveness of the satire depended largely

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[1] New Foundling Hospital, II, 30, 31. Shebbeare was a veteran political writer, who had once been set in the pillory.

[2] The Dean and the 'Squire: a Political Eclogue. Humbly dedicated to Soame Jenyns, Esq. By the Author of the Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers, etc., 3d. ed. (London, 1782), p. 16.

upon the Rowleian style in which several of the stanzas are couched. For example, here is a stanza in which the poet displays the literary superiority of Rowley over Geoffroy ~~of Monmouth~~ Chaucer (RCW:

"Tyrwhytte, thoughe clergyonned in Geoffroie's leare
Yette scalle yat leare stonde thee in drybblet stedde:
Geoffroi wythe Rowley how maiest thoue comphere?
Rowley hanne mottes, yet ne manne ever redde,
Ne couthe bewryenne inne anie syngle tyme,
Yet reynneythe echeone mole, in newe and swotie ryme."[1]

Although the Dictionary of National Biography denies Mason the honor of having written this pleasant poem, it is almost certainly his. It has, to be sure, been pretty generally attributed to John Baynes, Esq.,[2] because he took the copy to the printer, "but he emphatically disclaimed the authorship."[3] On the other hand, letters from Walpole show an antecedent probability of Mason's having written the Epistle and clearly imply the writer's belief that Mason was the author. As early as April 14, 1781, Walpole was writing to Mason about the share of Dean Milles in the Rowley controversy: "Dean Milles is going to revive Rowley, yet so as by laudanum."[4] Again on December 20, Walpole wrote Mason a letter chiefly concerned with Chatterton and Milles. A letter of April 2, 1782, in which Walpole writes, "I am highly diverted with your story of Johnson; but, like him, I must do justice: I admire him for not retracting his applause," has reference to an incident which, thus verified,

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[1] School for Satire, An Archaeological Epistle to the Reverend and Worshipful Jeremiah Milles, D.D., Dean of Exeter, President of the Society of Antiquarians, and Editor of a Superb Edition of the Poems of Thomas Rowley, Priest, To which is annexed a Glossary extracted from that of the learned Dean. (First printed, 1782) pp. 103-123, p. 116.

[2] Nicholls, Literary Anecdotes, VIII, 113. Baynes' authorship is asserted and a sketch of his life is given, but no proof of his having written the Epistle. See also Notes and Queries, 5th ser., II, Aug. 22, 1874, p. 150; Sept. 26, 1874, 251-252; Oct. 3, 270. On the last page mentioned, William J. Thoms asserts Baynes' authorship on the "authority of Francis Douce, who had known Baynes intimately."

[3] D.N.B., article on Baynes.

[4] Letters, XI, 427 (No. 2165).

proves absolutely that the Epistle was Mason's. He had written Walpole of sending a copy to Johnson, who, before reading the preface, in which his style is held up to ridicule, read the poem and praised it highly.[1] On April 13, Walpole praised the Epistle and defended it at some length in a letter to the Rev. William Cole, hinting incidentally at Mason's authorship.[2] In a letter to Mason on April 27, he remarked upon Governor Pownall's suspicion that the Archaeological Epistle was by the author of the Heroic Epistle,[3] and in another of May 7 he complimented the poet upon the equivocal certificate of authorship at the end of The Dean and the Squire.[4]

Doctor Johnson was not the only reliable critic who praised the Archaeological Epistle. George Steevens, the Shakespearian scholar, whom Dr. Johnson suspected of having written the poem himself, sent his compliments to the author, through his publisher, "With many thanks for the uncommon entertainment his production has afforded me."[5] The Gentleman's Magazine noticed the poem in March, 1782, with the remark, "A capital poem this," and quotation of the humorous characterization of the typical antiquary, Thomas Warton.[6] A favorable and keensighted reviewer for the Monthly Review, attributed the Epistle to the author of the Heroic Epistle.[7] And almost a century after its publication, an English scholar was sufficiently interested in the Archaeological Epistle to reply to the insinuation that it was a mere lampoon by proving

[1] Letters, XII, 216-219. Letter 2296 and Note 3.
[2] Letters, XII, 229-231.
[3] Letters, XII, 241.
[4] Letters, 246-247.
[5] Nicholls, Literary Anecdotes, VIII, 113.
[6] Gent. Mag., LII, 129.
[7] Mo. Rev., LXVI, 294-298.

it to be a considerable satire of no small humor and critical force.[1] Certainly it was the best of the MacGreggor series. Mason was a cold formalist in his narrative, lyric, didactic, and dramatic poetry, and his was an empty fame even in his own day. But his anonymous satires, more original and less discreet, lived to the time of Byron.[2]

Of the minor satirists of the time of Anstey and "Macgreggor", two were more important than the rest, Chatterton and Richard Tickell. Chatterton was a great poet, and therefore his satires deserve to be discussed. Tickell was a minor poet at best, but he represented in his own work the transition to a new stage in the progress of satire. Mason and Dean Milles and Walpole, and Mathias whom we shall discuss later, were interested in Chatterton only as the fabricator of the Rowley legend. And after all, the whole world is interested in him only on that score, and so his satires are of importance only as they are considered in connection with the Rowley poems. The relation is almost entirely a relation of difference; it is remarkable that a poet of Chatterton's keen sense of beauty could write his coarse and vulgar satires. Richard Tickell is or ought to be remembered chiefly for his connection with The Rolliad, yet his early satirical work was as good and of the same quality as his later; the difference was that in The Wreath of Fashion he satirized literary foibles of sentimental authors, whereas in his writings during the years which followed he turned his critical eye chiefly upon politics.

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[1] Notes and Queries, 5th ser., II, 251-252. Note by Spenks Henderson Williams.

[2] The Poetical Works of the Author of the Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers were published in 1805 (Mo. Rev. ser. 2, XLVIII, 105) and the last of the race of Heroic Epistles appeared in 1807, An Heroic Epistle to Mr. Winsor, the Patentee of the Hydro-carbonic Gas Lights, and Founder of the National Light and heat Company. (Mo. Rev., LVI, May, 1808, 97). The Epistle to Winsor was the Work of James Sayers (John Taylor, Records, I, 41).

Of Chatterton's satirical work let us speak briefly, as the preacher of a funeral sermon speaks of the amiable weaknesses of his subject. None of the satires affected his reputation among his contemporaries. Even The Consuliad, the first of the group,[1] is not known to have been published before 1778.[2] This poem, a conventional piece of Churchillian satire, directed for the most part against Lord Sandwich,[3] describes a fight among leaders of the party in power. They quarrel over their dinner, and pieces de resistance take part in the offensive in a way to delight the heart of Swift, from whose Battle of the Books Chatterton evidently took a hint. The Resignation, A Poem, another scurrilous political satire, longer and less decent than the Consuliad, was first printed in 1803.[4] Except for one passage of sincere apostrophe to America, beginning,

"Alas! America, thy ruined cause
 Displays the ministry's contempt of laws,"[5]

there is little in the poem that is of more than prurient interest. The Exhibition A personal Satire has never been published in full, chiefly because of its "evidence that youthful purity had been sullied."[6] Kew Gardens, the most artistic of the series, was not published till 1837. It is a general satire upon the social, political and religious abuses of the age, with many horrible examples, among them the Princess Dowager and the newly pensioned

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[1] An Epistle to the Reverend Mr. Catcott was earlier, but not significant; it is largely mocking criticism upon Catcott's treatise on the Deluge. See The Poetical Works of Thomas Chatterton with an essay on the Rowley Poems by the Rev. Walter Skeat.....and a Memoir by Edward Bell, 2 vols. (London, 1907), I, 66-75.

[2] Poetical Works, I, 91: "It is printed in the 'Miscellanies', 1778; but probably first appeared in the Freeholder's Magazine, as the poet received 10s. 6d. for it from Mr. Fell, the editor."

[3] Thomas Gray's one venture as a satirist was in opposition to this much hated statesman. His lampoon, Jemmy Twitcher; or the Cambridge Courtship, in anapestic couplets, is published in Edmund Gosse's edition of the Works of Gray, I, 131-132.

[4] Chatterton, Poetical Works, I, 99.

[5] Chatterton, 121. [6] Chatterton, I, 131.

Dr. Johnson.[1] Also published in Dix's Life of Chatterton in 1837 was a bitter piece addressed to Horace Walpole, a few lines of sincere outpouring of hate upon the man who after seeming about to befriend the inspired boy had suddenly turned his back upon him. The concluding words are classic in their vindictive force:

"But I shall live and stand
By Rowley's side when thou art dead and damned."[2]

Such a satirist, virulent and bitter, was Chatterton the dreamer, the supernatural genius who created an age and its literature. His influence upon the history of satire sprang only from the poetry of Rowley, over which men wrangled in prose and verse for a dozen years and more; his satires remained unread. In character more methodical and infinitely less impassioned, Richard Tickell produced clever and teasing satires, in almost every way the opposite of Chatterton's harsh and coarse outpouring of Juvenalian invective.

In 1778, when Richard Tickell published The Wreath of Fashion, his reputation was already well established. He had produced one successful satire in verse, The Project. More than that, he was a person of literary antecedents and connections. It was something, in those days, to be "the son of Addison's friend."[3] And so his merry mockery of the beaux and the Blue Stockings and the cultured coterie of Bath-easton had every opportunity to become popular. The poem was equal to the emergency, clever, witty, and light,- easy reading for the refined society to whom it afforded ephemeral

[1] Works, I, 136-175.
[2] The same, I, 33.
[3] Walpole, Letters, X, 222.

amusement. Even Horace Walpole enjoyed and approved it, partly because he did not like Lady Miller and her rhymesters.

The Wreath of Fashion was not the only satire concerning the vogue of salons and literary circles and the gushing fountains of superfluous emotion. Glancing over and beyond the productions of those scribblers who had already pitched upon the Bath-easton business as fair game for their derision,[1] we observe one significant work, Modern Manners, by the Reverend Samuel Hoole. In a series of familiar epistles of the Bath Guide sort, the versifying divine displays the foibles and absurdities of various phases of fashionable London; most poignantly he depicts a conversatione where the atmosphere was altogether too literary for the country 'squire, Mr. Ralph Rusty.[2] The opposite point of view, that of the Blue Stocking ladies who borrowed the salon from Paris, is represented in a clever poem by Hannah More, the Bas Bleu.[3] Though its tone is more generally panegyrical than satirical, yet its frank arraignment of more popular forms of amusement makes this poetic apology for Conversation more than half a satire. But neither this piece nor Modern Manners can compare

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[1] To such attacks Anstey replied in The Priest Dissected. One later satire on Bath-easton was The Sentence of Momus on the Poetical Amusements at a Villa near Bath (London, 1775), which was noticed as dealing largely in personalities (Mo. Rev., LII, May, 1775, p. 458.)

[2] Modern Manners; or, The Country Cousins: In a series of poetical epistles, 2d ed. (London, 1782), Letter X, pp. 81-96.

[3] Poems by Hannah More (London, 1816); pp. 65-88, The Bas Bleu: or Conversation. Addressed to Mrs. Vesey. Florio; A Tale, for fine gentlemen and fine ladies (pp. 97-148) is a satire upon the popular agnosticism; for instance, Florio's friend Bellario passed for learned because

"He knew each stale and vapid lye
In tomes of French philosophy."

Another piece which devotes much of its space to satirizing contemporary liberalism is An Heroic Epistle to Miss Sally Horne (pp. 155-166).

with[1] Tickell's Wreath of Fashion in point of absolute literary merit.

In spite of the augury of this first success in literature, Richard Tickell with all his cleverness, became a mere party writer. First his prose satires brought him notoriety and some degree of fame in the year after the publication of the Wreath of Fashion.[2] Anticipation, (1778) in particular, a pamphlet which prophesied the contents and even the wording of parts of several speeches delivered at the first meeting of the new Parliament, was generally considered a masterly stroke of wit.[3] Soon, under the influence of his friend Sheridan, Tickell changed his politics and became recognized as a leader among the men who wrote for the adherents. It followed naturally that when the Whigs undertook their great satirical enterprise whose results it is customary to group under the name of The Rolliad, Tickell should make many of the verses.

The Rolliad had its inception when a group of wits of Brooks' determined to make game of the party in power. The man of letters among them was George Ellis; scarcely less skilful writers were Lord John Townshend, General Fitzpatrick, Tickell, and the gentleman who took most of the blame, Dr. Laurence.[4]

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[1] Comparable to Modern Manners, though less well-known, was The Art of Living in London (1788) by James Smith, of Rejected Addresses (1812). He finds himself working in "a scribbling age"

"Where every anecdote of modern time,
Breaks out in novel, or is sung in rhyme."

[2] La Cassette Verte, for the most part ridicule of the supposed illiteracy of Benjamin Franklin, was reprinted privately in New York.... Opposition Mornings (with Betty's Remarks) (London, 1779) consisted of pseudo minutes of meetings of the leaders of the Opposition. Horace Walpole, a Whig, writing to the Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, another Whig, expressed unfavorable opinions of both these Tory squibs (Letters, X, 420-421). In the same year, however, Tickell seems to have changed his party.

[3] Republished in The Pamphleteer, London, 1822, No. XXXVIII, III, 309-345.

[4] For information concerning the authorship see Walpole, Letters, XIII,342, Note 3, and Notes and Queries II, 38, 114, 373. The series of articles in Notes and Queries consists of detailed lists of writers of various parts of the Rolliad, Probationary Odes, etc., as they are preserved in copies of the works, notably in the copy which was first owned by Dr. Laurence, the prime mover in the scheme, and that which belonged to George Ellis. Cf. also Sir Patrick Colquhoun, V.P., The Rolliad and the Antijacobin, on pages 229-264 of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom for 1883.

They cast about them for a convenient and novel vehicle for their satire; the notes of Martinus Scriblerus which envenom the Dunciad gave them a suggestion, perhaps Tickell's satire called Opposition Mornings gave them another, and assuredly a third came from the general interest in medieval poetry and the specific discussion concerning the authorship of the Rowley poems. The scheme of their work was to publish specimens of a supposed epic poem, with a great deal of reviewers' criticism and summarizing and no small amount of explanatory comment after the fashion of antiquarian annotaters.

Duke Rollo, a ludicrous Norman ancestor of an M.P. named Rolle who had incurred their displeasure by persisting in coughing and booing whenever Burke rose to make a speech, was the hero of their epos. The plot is not much to speak of, and part of that not decently mentionable. The whole humor of the work depends upon the straight-faced presentation of its absurdities.

The twelve numbers of the first part of the Criticisms on the Rolliad were first published in the Morning Herald, a Whig paper which in that very year 1785 went over to the support of the Ministry.[1] So great was the success that the same group of authors forthwith produced a second series of Criticisms.[2] When that work was fairly launched, they discovered an opportunity for further ingenious satire in the death of William Whitehead and the consequent vacancy in his office of poet laureat. Accordingly, soon after the appointment of Thomas Warton as his successor, forth came a series of Probationary Odes for the Laureatship, edited ostensibly by Sir John Hawkins. These burlesque lyrics, the work of the same witty young Whigs who wrote the Rolliad prose and verses, were represented to be the work of about two dozen candidates for the office and perquisites of the king's poet. Conspicuous among the real writers

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[1] De Colquhoun in Royal Soc. of Lit. Trans., 1883, p. 230.

[2] Horace Walpole wrote to Sir Horace Mann on October 30, 1785; "We have at present here a most incomparable set, not exactly known by their names, but

were Tickell and George Ellis, and among their victims were, in addition to men of chiefly political note, four oddly assorted poets, William Mason, James Macpherson, Joseph Warton, and his brother Thomas. Like The Rolliad, the Probationary Odes were extremely popular, and so, though their vein of wit was almost washed out, the happy authors set about the production of a third series of short satirical pieces, the Political Eclogues.[1] This time they took the advice of the author of Makarony Fables[2] and made the prose notes subordinate to the verses, and they reverted from thorough originality to the easier and more popular satirical practice of imitation of the ancients. Four of the five short poems are avowedly modeled upon Virgil's Bucolics. The fifth, Jekyll,[3] is not an imitation but a piece of independent personal satire, full of acrid irony such as Horace Walpole relished.[4] Its humor is somewhat blurred now, but it is said to have been distinctly funny in its day. At any rate it is stronger than the other eclogues and the pieces of desultory sarcasm which the authors of the Rolliad collected and published some years later under

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who, till the dead of summer, kept the town in a roar, and, I suppose, will revive by the meeting of Parliament. They have poured forth a torrent of odes, epigrams, and part of an imaginary epic poem, called The Rolliad, with a commentary and notes, that is as good as The Dispensary and Dunciad, with more ease."-Letters, XIII, 342.

[1] Another collection, parts of which were republished among the Political Eclogues and Political Miscellanies was produced under this title: Extracts from the Album at Streatham: or, Ministerial Amusements. To which are added, The Bulse, a Pindaric Ode: and Jekyll, an Eclogue (Dublin, 1788).

[2] Makarony Fables; with the New Fable of the Bees, in two cantos. Addressed to the Society, by Cosmo, Mythogelastick Professor, and F.M.S.(London, 1768). In the New Fable of the Bees the author (J. Hall Stevenson) explains that nobody reads the old Fable of the Bees because the author's verse was intended merely to introduce the prose

"Whereas it should be the reverse,
The prose should be the squire, or usher,
To grace and wait upon the verse,
Not a competitor or pusher."

[3] By Lord John Townsend.

[4] "I hold Jekyll and Bonner's Ghost perfect compositions in their different kinds --- a great deal to say when poetry has been so much exhausted." Walpole, Letters, XIV, 155, in Letter No. 2687, to Miss Mary Berry, from Strawberry Hill, July 10, 1789.

the title of Political Miscellanies.

As the Whigs grew in popular esteem and political influence, the writers of the conservative party wrenched from their careless grip the mace of satire. Already in 1785 Tory scribblers had attempted a reply to the Rolliad in The Beauties of the Brinsleiad, a mock criticism of an hypothetical epic concerning Richard Brinsley Sheridan.[1] But for lack of a stout bulwark against the shafts of Whiggish waggery they had to retire discomfited from the combat. Or perhaps the Whig giant entirely overlooked the puny and slingless Tory David. Within a few years, however, a stout little champion of conventionality and the established order of things arose in the person of Thomas James Mathias, the pleasant pedant who wrote the Pursuits of Literature.[2]

Now Mathias had long aspired to the fame of a satirist. One of his earliest works was an Heroic Epistle to the Rev. Richard Watson (1780), which is interesting only for its comments upon the Chattertonian controversy and upon the Heroic Epistles to Sir William Chambers and from Donna Teresa.[3] He published soon after a thin volume of "Runic Odes", a résumé of the facts in the discussion over the Rowley poems, and, a work that seems to have failed of the success which its amusing qualities warrant, Rowley and Chatterton in the Shades,

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[1] The Beauties of the Brinsleiad: or a Sketch of the Opposition: A Poem. Interspersed with notes. No. I (London, 1785). I have found no trace of a second number. The piece is of some interest as literary satire. This couplet from Rolle's reply to the Opposition offers evidence in support of the opinion that Tickell had an important part in the Rolliad:

"Conscious I act as principle directs me,
Shall Courtenay, Sheridan, or Tickell vex me?"

[2] Another minor satirist of the Tory party was Rev. G. Huddesford, who began a long career of political versifying with Warley: a Satire, which was published in two parts in 1778. The first part seems to have been well received; the Monthly Reviewer declared (Mo. Rev., LIX, Nov., 1778, 394): "If this be not Anstey there are two Ansteys." But the second part, though of more literary interests was less popular. Of it the reviewer said (Mo. Rev., Dec., 1778, 473): "No, not Anstey!....He has more delicacy." Mr. Huddesford was the editor for some years of a miscellany called Salmagundi, in which appeared many short pieces of his verse, especially political ballads. He also published several political satires in the times of the French Revolution, including Topsy-Turvy, Bubble and Squeak,

(Note 3 and remainder of Note 2 on next page)

an Elysian Interlude (1782). Perhaps this book savored too much of antiquarianism to please the ordinary reader at a time when the Chattertonian controversy was just dying down.[1] Yet there is cleverness of a heavy sort in the dialogue and some of the wit of parody in the metrical speeches of characters from Rowleian poems, Chaucer, Lydgate, Spenser, and a troop of antiquarians. So much for Mathias' early satirical work. He continued the life of a reader of learned books, and it was a dozen years before he again appeared in the role of satirist. In 1794, however, the first dialogue of the Pursuits of Literature came out, and his fortune was made. Of course the piece was published anonymously, but the secret of its authorship was not long preserved.

In the next few years, Mathias published besides other political and occasional pieces[2] three more dialogues of Pursuits. From the point of view of a stern Anglican Tory he lashed whatever pieces of literary work seemed likely to exert an influence against conventional morality or in favor of liberalism and democracy in politics.[3] In point of fact, the Pursuits of

and Crambe Repetita, for which see The Poems of George Huddesford, M.A. (London, 1801).

[3] An Heroic Epistle to the Rev. Richard Watson, D/D/ F.R.S., Archdeacon of Ely...... 2d ed. (London, 1780), iii-iv. He praises McNally's Letter from Donna Teresa for its charms of harmonious versification. On page 9 he declares his admiration for "Macgreggor."

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[1] It is in fact a satire upon some of the evils of "research", with especial reference to the controversies over literary forgeries. When Chatterton and Rowley decide to visit Earth together, the former says: "We shall observe the workings of the delusive spirit, the strong magic of prejudice, the farce of burlesque literature, and the prostitution of superior abilities to laborious folly, difficult trifles, and unsatisfactory investigation."-Rowley and Chatterton in the Shades; or, Nugae Antiquae et Novae. A New Elysian Interlude, in prose and verse (London, 1782), p. 19.

[2] The Political Dramatist (1795); An Equestrian Epistle in Verse to the Earl of Jersey (1796); An Epistle in Verse to Dr. Randolph (1796); Pandolpho Attonito (1800); and The Shade of Alexander Pope on the Banks of the Thames (1799). The first is an attack on Sheridan. The last is a political satire "occasioned chiefly, but not wholly, by the residence of Henry Grattan, Esq. Ex-Representative in Parliament for the City of Dublin, at Twickenham, in November, 1798." It involves a few keen touches of literary satire upon subjects which the poet had already discussed in the Pursuits. The Equestrian Epistle I have not seen

Literature, which in its entirety filled a stout volume, was more than half a political satire, and one by no means without practical influence.

Another writer of political satire whose critical judgment was somewhat warped by his political bias was William Gifford. Perhaps it is fairer to say that temperament in his case, and academic environment in that of Mathias, determined both political principles and critical standards. Gifford was a matter-of-fact, precedent-loving Tory in politics, and a conservative, common-sense classicist in literature. As he grew older, however, he lost the classic virtue of moderation; he is most distinctly remembered as the acrimonious editor of the Quarterly Review whom Shelley arraigned for the killer of John Keats. But then he had long ceased to write formal satire. Indeed he was a satirist for only half a dozen years. First he exerted himself to condemn and exterminate the extravagances of the Della Cruscan sentimental poetry in two regular satires which were saved from being immoderate in their execution by the utterly contemptible quality of the soft lyrics of "Della Crusca", "Laura Maria", "Anna Matilda", and "the Bard".[1] Thus in The Baviad (1794) and The Maeviad (1795) Gifford did for the popular sentimental poetry of 1790 what Tickell in The Wreath of Fashion did for that of 1778, but less gently, in proportion as the Della Cruscan verse product was more widely read and more absurd than that of Mrs. Miller's coterie at Bath-easton. The Baviad

[3] Mathias's work brought out several other satires of similar tendencies, among them Polwhele's Unsex'd Females (1798).

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[1] Let the doubter read thirty or forty pages of The British Album (London, 1790). Its "Poems of Della Crusca, Anna Matilda, Arley, Benedict, The Bard, etc., etc., etc." are very bad. It must be admitted, however, that some of the other poems of "Della Crusca" (Robert Merry) are not particularly unpleasant. Here is a specimen stanza of a poem addressed to him by "Anna Matilda":

"And be thy lines irregular and free,
Poetic chains should fall before
        such Bards as thee.
Scorn the dull laws that pinch thee round,
Raising above thy verse a mound,
O'er which thy muse, so lofty! dares not bound."

and Maeviad, heavy imitations of Persius and Juvenal, are difficult enough to read sympathetically today, but for achievement of their purpose they surpassed almost every literary satire but The Dunciad. Gifford rose to renown as the literary champion of conservatism. Naturally, therefore, when the stout forces of Toryism set out to support the Ministry of Pitt through the medium of a satirical weekly paper, The Anti-Jacobin, Gifford was chosen its editor. The periodical prospered for a year and a half nov. 1797 - July 1798 in a course of derisive mockery and hearty damnation of everything revolutionary in tendency, from sermons to low comedy.[1] One of its most effective weapons was verse satire of a kind which it perfected, parody. Its parodies were not mere burlesque imitations of types or specimens from the revolutionary romantic poets. Each Anti-Jacobin parodist, while he gleefully made mock of the stylistic frailties of his victim, reduced ad absurdum the romantic social and political doctrines. For example, in The Progress of Man Gifford and his collaborators ridiculed the style of Richard Payne Knight's conventional didactic poem, The Progress of Civil Society, and at the same time depicted with joyous irony the pleasures of free love in a Rousseauistic State of Nature.[2] The best piece in all the poetry of the Anti-Jacobin (and every number contained verses above mediocrity), was The Friend of Humanity and the Knife Grinder, in which Canning and Frere derided with superb artistry the rhythmic weakness of Southey's Sapphic verses called The Widow and exemplified vividly the most discouraging fact for socialists, that the working classes do not know they are downtrodden.[3] In the words of James

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[1] The Anti-Jacobin, or Weekly Examiner, not to be confused with the Anti-Jacobin Review, flourished from Nov. 20, 1797, to July 9, 1798. The authoritative work concerning the literary aspects and significance of this weekly periodical is Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, edited by Charles Edmonds, third edition, (London, 1890). Two pages of this volume (xvii-xviii) present invaluable information about "Editions of the Anti-Jacobin; and its Successors."

[2] Anti-Jacobin, Numbers XV, XVI, and XXI. Canning contributed some of the best passages. See Edmonds, p. 106.

[3] Number II.

Hannay: "There is always a purpose in the Anti-Jacobin's view something more important than the mere persiflage that teases individuals. Like the blade of Damascus, which has a verse of the Koran engraved on it, its fine wit glitters terribly in the cause of sacred tradition."[1]

As editor of this Anti-Jacobin, Gifford was involved in the evolution of some of the best verse satire that Britain ever produced. But his share in the poetry of his periodical was actually rather unimportant. He is known to have had a hand in the writing of only nine or ten of the fifty-odd pieces of verse, and of no one of these was he the sole or dominant author. More influential in the work were George Ellis, who had grown older and changed his party since Rolliad days, John Hookham Frere, and the real chief of the tribe, George Canning.[2] All three worked with Gifford on The Rovers, the famous burlesque upon the German romantic drama. Canning and Frere were responsible together for the most brilliant of the shorter pieces, while Canning was practically sole author of the one formal satire in heroic couplets, The New Morality, in which he analyzed the evils of the times, and gibbeted the names of political and literary liberals in a canticle addressed to the French apostle of atheism, LePaux.

Upon the dissolution of the Anti-Jacobin in 1798, George Canning did not cease to make use of his satirical power. In the same year a new periodical, The Anti-Jacobin Review, was founded, with avowedly the same principles as those of the original weekly paper, and to this monthly Canning seems to have con-

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[1] Quarterly Review, April, 1857. Edmonds, xxix.

[2] For information concerning authorship of Anti-Jacobin poetry I am indebted to Edmonds, pp. xix-xxiii and to Sir Patrick Colquhoun's article on The Rolliad and the Anti-Jacobin, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, for 1883.

tributed *sub rosa* from time to time. For example, *The Uti Possidetis, and Status Quo; a Political Satire*, which was reprinted from the *Anti-Jacobin Review* in 1807 is supposed to have been Canning's.[1] Certainly he was the author of a famous political ballad in praise of Pitt, *The Pilot who Weathered the Storm*.[2]

There were many other English political satires in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The *Uti Possidetis* is only one, and not the best, of a group which includes *Elijah's Mantle,* by James Sayers,[3] *All the Talents*, by Eaton Stannard Barrett,[4] *The Groans of the Talents*,[5] and a retaliatory piece by W. H. Ireland in defence of Fox's Ministry, called *All the Blocks*![6] The most pretentious among them was Barrett's *All the Talents*. A regular satire in three formal dialogues, the work was so well received that it went through at least eleven editions and the author was constrained to publish separately a supplementary fourth dialogue. The first, not the fourth, however, is the most interesting part of the poem; here in true classical style the poet, Polypus, discusses with his friend Scriblerus the advisability of writing political satire. Incidentally, they make several interesting comments upon

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[1] His authorship is by no means proved. Edmonds (p. xxviii) quotes this sentence from A. Hayward's review of the first edition of his *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin* in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1858: "At all events, the original *Anti-Jacobin* closed with the number containing *New Morality*, and Canning had nothing to do with the *monthly review* started under the same name."

[2] *Memoir of the Right Honourable George Canning*....by Leman Thomas Rede... (London, 1827), pp. 116-117. Scott's song, "Health to Lord Melville" (1806), devotes a stanza to the memory of Pitt, concluding with this line:

"Low lies the pilot that weather'd the storm!"

[3] *Elijah's Mantle*, being verses occasioned by the death of that illustrious statesman, the Right Honourable William Pitt, Dedicated to the Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Lincoln. With a Prefatory Address. 6th edit. (London, 1807). This poem has been attributed also to Canning. See also Taylor, *Records of My Life*, I, 40-41.

[4] *All the Talents*; a satirical Poem in three dialogues. By Polypus. (London, 1807). A fourth dialogue was published in the same year.

[5] *The Groans of the Talents*; *or, Private Sentiments on Public Occasions*. In six epistles from certain ex-ministers to their colleagues, most wonderfully intercepted, to which are added notes....(London, 1807).

[6] *All the Blocks! or, an Antidote to 'All the Talents'*. A satirical poem in three dialogues. By Flagellum (London, 1807).

contemporary authors. In short, Dialogue I of All the Talents amounts to an instructive piece of literary satire.

Three other satires which were concerned in part with literary people and works appeared in London in the same decade with English Bards and Scotch Reviewers. One of these, Stultifera Navis; The Modern Ship of Fools (1807), is apparently the work of that brave forger, William Henry Ireland. The general idea and some of the chapter headings are taken from Barclay's version of Sebastian Brandt's Dutch renaissance Ship. In spite of one's longing for the woodcuts that accompany and enliven the old satire, the twentieth century reader can derive pleasure from such parts of Ireland's work as Section I "Of Foolish Unprofitable Books" and Section LXV "Of Backbiters and Such as shall Despise This Work." A quality of smiling quaintness in some of the best verses, and a certain studied compactness of phrasing stamp the book as more nearly a piece of true literary creation than any other satire of the decade between the Anti-Jacobin and English Bards.[1] Richard Mant's Simpliciad (1808) is an obscure poem of some literary importance as a possible source for several of the verses of Byron. The third work in this group is a piece of social satire, Lady Anne Hamilton's Epics of the Ton (1807). This book consists of a series of "characters", sketches of people prominent in the upper circles of London society.[2] It is rather profusely annotated, and some of its most striking passages are more scandalous than graceful. Of course its allusions to persons of contemporary note or notoriety, as is the case to a less extent with the political satires, make it difficult or mysterious reading now. In

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[1] A reviewer in the Poetical Register for 1806-1807 (London, 1811), page 552, calls the Ship dull, perhaps on account of an antipathy for its author.

[2] Another amusing satire, not of so much literary importance as those mentioned in the text, is The Age of Frivolity: a Poem. Addressed to the Fashionable, the Busy, and the Religious World. By Timothy Touch'em. 2d. edit. (London, 1807).

its day it must have been very amusing; even now the comments on literary celebrities, Moore, Southey, Wordsworth, Scott, Rogers, Campbell, "Monk" Lewis, Sheridan, and Burns, are entertaining and sometimes suggestive.

Aside from the direct line of satirists who wrote chiefly for the sake of party politics even when their subjects were primarily literary and social, stand several poets who wrote satirical poetry in the period which the present study pretends to cover.[1] Burns, for example, was a maker of acrimonious and witty rebukes for canting hypocrites. Some of the poems, also, in which he pleads the cause of true democracy involve more than a drop of the hot spirit of satire. Similarly, there is a dash of the satirical in some of the most beautiful Songs of Innocence and Experience. William Blake, though a seer of visions, was not blind to many of the evils of this world. Less tenuous and more definite and significant satirical poetry appears in the works of George Crabbe and William Cowper.

Crabbe represents plainly the transition from classical conventionality to realism. He had ambition to be a poet after the order of Pope and Goldsmith, as his early poems, "Goldsmith fo the Author"[2] and "The Candidate, a Poetical Epistle to the Authors of the Monthly Review" demonstrate.[3] In The Library also, the cold poem for which modern critics do not share Burke's admiration, the attitude of classical criticism is maintained. But in this

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[1] The opposite case, of noteworthy poets who wrote inconspicuous formal satire, is not uncommon. Coleridge, for instance, in 1799, wrote an occasional lampoon called The Devil's Thoughts, one version of which extends to thirty-three pointed quatrains.

[2] The Poetical Works of George Crabbe (Oxford edition) ed. A.J. Carlyle and R.M. Carlyle (London, 1908), pp. 6-7.

[3] Crabbe, pp. 12-18.

work, which is largely satirical, some lines seem to indicate the dawning of a distrust for the old, lifeless way of producing literature. Though he praises the philological method, we suspect a hint of rebellion against it in these lines:

"Our patient fathers trifling themes laid by,
Page after page, the much-enduring men
Explored the deeps and shallows of the pen."[1]

The Newspaper (1785), is a satirical poem in less conventional style; or, rather, it is a hybrid poem, one half didacticism and one half satire. In it Crabbe blamed journalism for the decline in the general worth of literary production and also for the slight welcome which ambitious authors received at the hands of the reading public. Likewise he deprecated the evil influence of newspapers in inflaming political animosities. He criticized the careless methods of newspaper writers, and he classified the material of journalism as : (1) Borrowings from other papers, and news gathered by lying reporters; (2) records of promotions, vital statistics, and accounts of hangings at Tyburn; and (3) advertising of quack doctors and books and theatrical performances. Finally he warned young poets against getting into the useless habit of writing newspaper verses.[2] Really the poem is full of interesting suggestions. Yet it lacks the originality and force of style which characterize The Village (1783). Here Crabbe's distinctive quality of realism shone for the first time through the gilt paint of classical forms. He depicted rural England in the traditional poetic language, but at the same time in words which fitted the facts.

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[1] Crabbe, p. 27.

[2] Crabbe's Works, pp. 42-49.

And he put real feeling into his poetry, in place of the conventionalized emotions that motivate neo-classical odes of rustic scenery and pastoral dialogue. Throughout the poem he arraigns society, directly or by implication, for permitting existence to the evils which he describes, but in the opening passage the satire is more distinctly literary. Here he points with a cold smile at the difference between country life as it is and as it appears in conventional pastoral poetry, where

> "...shepherds' boys their amorous pains reveal,
> The only pains, alas! they never feel."[1]

For ability to create pure poetry, William Cowper was a maker far beyond George Crabbe, far, far beyond any other poet whose satirical verse we have treated, with the single exception of Burns.[2] And in satiric writing clearness of expression and careful, thoughtful organization of ideas surpass your wild directness of composition. Therefore much of the reproof of folly in Cowper's long poems, Table Talk and The Task, has a quiet force which more than outweighs the impetuous vehemence of Burns' outpouring rebukes for evils that he hated. In Table Talk Cowper discusses his own taste in poetry and sketches a history of English verse, with especial emphasis upon satire, concluding, however, with declaration of the superiority of such religious poetry as that of Sternhold and Hopkins over "Satire, Ribaldry and Fancy."[3] In the Progress of Error there is social and ethical satire, with a few comments upon literary aspects of the matter of public morals. Conversation

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[1] Crabbe, p. 34.

[2] We except also Coleridge, whose satirical work was unimportant.

[3] The Poetical Works of William Cowper with notes and a memoir by John Bruce, I, 34.

is an entertaining poem, full of keen shafts of sarcasm against society. Here is a specimen:

"Luxury gives the mind a childish cast,
And while she polishes, perverts the taste;...
Till authors hear at length one genral cry,
Tickle and entertain us, or we die."[1]

Though Cowper lived perforce a retired, almost monastic life, he was quick and alive to the facts of the world and his sharp intellect interpreted clearly the significance of those facts. More than all, he had the soul of a poet, and saw the beauty in all things. If one doubts his superiority over his contemporaries, he has only to compare Cowper's lines about newspaper writing (Task, Book IV, The Winter Evening) with a passage from Crabbe's poem on the same subject. Two lines will serve for an example:

"Here rills of oily eloquence in soft
Meanders lubricate the course they take."[2]

Cowper was never harsh, yet in his satirical passages the style does not perfectly represent that Horatian moderation which was generally considered the only alternative to Juvenalian invective.[3] He struck noiseless blows, with a padded hammer it may be, but he hit the nail on the head and drove it straight into its place. Nowhere is this gentle accuracy of Cowper's satirical surgery better illustrated than in ten famous words of literary satire, in which he characterized Robert Lloyd as

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[1] Cowper, p. 198.

[2] Works of Cowper, II, 99.

[3] Compare this couplet, from Conversation (Works, I, 166);
"A Christian's wit is inoffensive light,
A beam that aids, but never grieves the sight."

"sole heir and single
Of dear Mat Prior's jingle."[1]

How could the pride of a brother poet be lowered more smoothly, more easily, or farther?

One more poet of other fame wrote successful satires before Byron. Tom Moore is commonly thought of as the manufacturer of the plainly tinseled Lallah Rookh or the singer of sweet Irish Melodies. In the regency of Castelragh, however, he was famous as a satirist in the easy Horatian style. His first attempts were two formal satires in the manner of Pope, Corruption and Intolerance (1808). They were dull enough, as was also the Philosophical Satire which he published in the next year. But when he took to writing familiar anapestic epistles of the New Bath Guide sort his fortune was made. The Twopenny Postbag (1813) was a series of political squibs in such metrical letters. Even now they are easy reading.

When Lord Byron was plotting revenge for the mockery with which reviewers had received his youthful volume of Hours of Idleness, he must have cast about him for a weapon suited to his purpose. Pope had been an object of his lifelong admiration; The Dunciad probably gave him the suggestion for the general scheme of his poem. He was indebted also to Gifford. But another satirist whom Byron liked was still alive and not yet utterly toothless; no doubt Byron derived something of style and method, if not for English Bards at any rate for later satires, from the works of Dr. John Wolcot.

Whether Byron knew it or not, Wolcot resembled the noble author

[1] In An Epistle to Robert Lloyd, Esq. (Works, II, 305-307).

of English Bards in scoring his first success with a poem concerning reviewers. His Epistle to those Literary Colossuses the Reviewers (1778) seems merely a plea for mercy, but it is in toto a figment of that grinning, masked irony which was to make its author for twenty years the terror of kings and princes, scientists and Academicians. Indeed for almost half a lifetime, Dr. Wolcot, an irreligious old reprobate who had good classical taste in many respects, jibed immoderately at everything he disliked, and made a handsome living by the sale of his wild verses. He outshone in popularity all the satirists of his time except possibly the poets of the Anti-Jacobin. And only once did he meet his match,- when he tried to administer intellectual and physical beatings to that sturdy Roman, William Gifford.

Dr. John Wolcot lived a full life. He was a priest, a physician, a man of letters, and a patron of the arts. As a clergyman, he was a distinct failure. But in his other three characters he shone with brilliance. In the town of Truro, in Cornwall, he was admired as a doctor of medicine even when he was despised as no gentleman.[1] When, at the age of forty, he began his career as a writer of verse, he was already a man of the world. He had lived a year in Normandy,[2] spent many months in perfecting his medical knowledge by observation in the London hospitals,[3] and resided for years in Jamaica, first as surgeon to the Governor, Sir William Trelawney,[4] and then

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[1] Rev. R. Polwhele, Traditions and Recollections (London, 1826), I, 36.

[2] Gaehde, Christian, John Wolcot (Peter Pindar) Sein leben und seine werke. Erster Teil. Inaugural dissertation zur erlangung der philosophischen doctorwurde an der universität Leipzig 1900 (pub. also in Kölbing's Forschungen zur englischen sprache und litteratur, Heft IV).

[3] Reitterer, Theodor, Leben und Werke Peter Pindars (Dr. John Wolcot) (Wein und Leipzig, 1900) - in Weiner Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie, XI.) p. 10.

[4] Varying accounts are given by Gaehde (19-30), Reitterer, (11-12), and Polwhele (I, 35).

as a rather careless parson. Himself a despiser and mocker of artificiality, he discovered and assisted the genius of an historical painter who was by nature a realist,[1] John Opie. With all his good taste and his artistic achievements (he was a talented musician and painter as well as a poet), Wolcot indulged his coarser passions freely, was generally in love,[2] and often drunk.

As an author, Dr. Wolcot rivalled our best-selling novelists, except that only part of his product was trash. His career extended over more than forty years, and in that time he published sixty works. Of course his pamphlets were thinner than novels; but they were full of ideas. They were cheap, and they sold like hot cakes. His public work as a satirist did not begin till the appearance of the Lyric Odes for the Royal Academicians for MDCCLXXXII (1782),[3] but ten years later he was stowing away his wealth in loans to the government and in 1794 he owned a row of houses in the Middle Temple.

By 1795, Pindar's best work was done, though he continued to send out pamphlets of verse at the rate of more than one a year for another fifteen years. The chief children of his muse were: Lyric Odes to the Royal Academicians (of which separate series were published in 1782, 1783, 1785, 1786),

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[1] Polwhele, I, 77-80.

[2] At the age of sixty-nine, he paid his landlord 200£ damages because he had alienated the affections of his landlady.-Reitterer, 36.

[3] He was forty-four years old. This was by no means his first publication. Reitterer (p. 9) attributes to Wolcot a love ditty signed J.W. which appeared in Martin's Magazine for November, 1756. Certainly he published Persian Love Elegies and the Nymph of Tauris in Jamaica, 1773. (Gaehde, 7); of these poems Polwhele spoke with admiration (I, 35). Indeed there were several earlier pieces of satire, including The Noble Cricketers (Truro, 1778), and the earliest work which the poet thought worthy of inclusion in his edition of the collected works, A Poetical, Supplicating, Modest, and Affecting, Epistle to those Literary Colossuses, the Reviewers (London, 1778). This last is a thoroughly respectable piece of irony. Here is a specimen quatrain:

"I never hinted, 'that with half-a-crown
Books have been sent you by the scribbling tribe;
Which Fee hath purchas'd pages of renown:' --
No, for I know you'd spurn the paltry bribe."

The Lousiad (1785-1795), *The Epistle to James Boswell* (1786), *Bozzy and Piozzi* (1786), *Brother Peter to Brother Tom* (1788), and *Sir Joseph Banks and the Emperor of Morocco* (1788). There were scores of other titles, representing, besides pleasant fabliaux,[1] love songs, and anacreontics, satires in rambling iambics upon all sorts of subjects, aesthetic and political, and especially upon the bourgeois human nature of His Royal Highness George the Third. But Peter Pindar, a typical "old fool", fell into evil ways in the days of his financial ease, and the quality if not the quantity of his poetic product suffered. Here is a character of the man, written in 1799 by John Gifford, editor of the *Anti-Jacobin Review*,[2] in a letter to the Rev. Richard Polwhele, whose friend and tutor Wolcot had been in 1776: "Peter Pindar is woefully changed indeed since you saw him; he has merged in the grossest sensuality; and his conversation is really what I have represented it, a combination of obscenity and blasphemy."[3]

Dr. Wolcot had few friends and many enemies. His unrestrained ridicule and abuse of persons and things that the conventional world esteemed made him generally disliked though, in one sense, respected. Even his old Cornish friends,Polwhele, for example, shunned him as his notoriety increased.[4]

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[1] Cf. *The Soldier and the Virgin Mary*, Works, II, 170-173; *Old Simon*, III, 50-58; and *The Widow of Ephesus*, IV, 401-408. This last, in the series of "Tales of the Hoy" for which Peter avowedly took the suggestion from Chaucer, is a story which was told less effectively by Petronius in his *Satyricon*.

[2] John Richards Green, after having to fly from his creditors in 1782, returned to England in 1788 as John Gifford, worked at journalism and was connected with the British Critic before he became the editor of the *Anti-Jacobin Review*.-Edmonds, p. xvii.

[3] Polwhele, II, 315-316.

[4] Polwhele, I, 244. In a letter from Plymouth, June 23, 1790, Dr. Wolcot wrote to Polwhele: "It is *your* fault that we did not renew our acquaintance, as you were at Exeter several times during my stay there."

His lack, also, of polish and social grace accounted in part for his lack of intimate acquaintances. Yet he seems to have been in private life sufficiently good natured and good hearted. In support of this opinion we have testimony of one of his friends, Isaac Disraeli. Though Disraeli was introduced to Wolcot through the inauspicious chance of having attacked him in a satirical poem, "Peter Pindar, faithful to the instinct of his nature, wrote a letter of congratulation and compliment to his assailant, and desired to make his acquaintance."[1] Lord Beaconsfield, in the biographical preface to his edition of the Curiosities of Literature, adds: "My father always described Wolcot as a warm-hearted man; coarse in his manners, and rather rough, but eager to serve those whom he liked."[2]

The satire of Disraeli On the Abuse of Satire (1788) was only one of many attacks which Pindar had to withstand or avoid.[3] He was constantly in literary scrimmages, at least one of which came to actual stick blows and fisticuffs. The chief monument of this conflict is the "Epistle to Peter Pindar. By the author the Baviad" (1800) where Peter is pilloried as

"A bloated mass, a gross, unkneaded clod,
A foe to man, a renegade from God."[4]

Dr. Wolcot, however, had had his fling at Gifford. For, finding his poetry and his personality condemned in the Anti-Jacobin Review, he added to his latest squib, Lord Auckland's Triumph (1800), a long postscript in abusive

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[1] Curiosities of Literature, by Isaac Disraeli, with a view of the life and writings of the author, by his son (Boston, 1859), I, 17, 231.

[2] Curiosities of Literature, I, 231.

[3] In reply to John Nichols' Benevolent Epistle to Peter Pindar (1790), for example, Wolcot wrote A Benevolent Epistle to Sylvanus Urban and A Rowland for an Oliver (Works, II, 253-328).

[4] Epistle to Peter Pindar. By the Author of the Baviad. 2d edit. (London, 1800), p. 28. The forty-three pages of the pamphlet are crammed full of virulant personal vilification. Shelley might say that Gifford was a past master of literary killing, had Pindar been not quite so tough.

prose in which he heaped indiscriminate indecency upon the heads of those whom he took to be the authors of the review, Mathias, Canning, and Gifford.[1] Not satisfied with the force of Billingsgate, Pindar set out with a club, found Gifford sitting quietly, and smote him on the head. In the scuffle that followed, the assailant was pretty badly bruised and battered. The story of the fight afforded material for at least two first-rate occasional squibs. One has a pleasantly medieval flavor in that it is written in that kind of Latin which some people liken to pork and some to Macaroni. Three lines of this Bardomachia run:

Praecipue Fratres scribleros ludere gaudet;
Seu pedibus strictis scriblent, pedibusque solutis,
Petrus amat cunctos atro carbone notare."[2]

The other narrative, a mock-heroic poem called The Battle of the Bards, was the work of the jolly Irishman, Thomas Dermody. Its story is more circumstantial than that of Bardomachia, but no more entertaining. It has some interest, however, for the historian, because it gives a contemporary account of the whole controversy, not hesitating to find fault with Gifford as well as Wolcot. The future gnasher of the poetry of Keats must have joyed to read that

"His sconce, impenetrable, scorn'd a wound,
But hollow rung, and gave a mournful sound."[3]

"Peter, a ready marksman, takes his aim,
And, in a lucky moment, hits the game;

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[1] The author of the criticism was actually John Richards Green alias John Gifford (Edmonds, p. xvii). Reitterer, 33. For Wolcot's prose satire see his Works, IV, 331-340.

[2] Bardomachia Poema Macaronico-Latinum Londini: 1800, p. 6. It was the work of Rev. Alexander Geddes.

[3] The Harp of Erin, containing the poetical works of the late Thomas Dermody (London, 1807), II, 1-27.

> Fashion and pleasure hunts the livelong day,
> Painters, or fools, or kings, his easy prey;
> At court, in city, Ran'lagh, or Vauxhall,
> All laugh with Peter, and he laughs at all."[1]

This passage from The Poet's Fate, by George Dyer, represents the common opinion of London scribblers. Wolcot might be frowned upon by the sentinels of conventional morality, but he was a maker of money, and therefore to be imitated. A host of grubbing penpushers gathered stray pence that fell from the overloaded pockets of Peter Pindar. Some scribblers stole his subjects and borrowed his pseudonym.[2] Others wrote poems about him, generally in criticism of his moral standards.[3] Still others invented pen-names similar to his and wrote satirical verses in imitation of his style. Of such imitators, two of the more pretentious were "Matthew Bramble," A. M'Donald, and "Anthony Pasquin", John Williams. Both directed their satirical musketry principally against the theatre. Bramble was the less notorious and the better poet. His Odes to Actors are fairly endurable reading, as such things go, witty at several points, and pleasantly rhythmical. Besides the odes, M'Donald wrote in the person of Matthew Bramble "Monitory Madrigals to Musical Amateurs" and several miscellaneous pieces, including "probationary odes" by Mason, Beattie, and Hayley. He in various places avows his admiration for Dr. Wolcot's verses and the income which they bring their author.

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[1] Dyer, George, Poems (London, 1801), pp. 208-209.

[2] Cf. Probationary Odes for the Laureatship of the Royal Academy. By a Tag-Rag of the Sacred Nine (London, 1786) (Mo. Rev., LXXV, 150).

[3] For example, read the weak lampoon called Tabby to Pindar (London, 1790). Its argument is that Pindar should be made Prime Minister. The ironical reasons are put in the mouth of the traveller, Bruce, whom Peter had lately satirized.

In particular, his "Heroic Epistle to Peter Pindar, Esq." begins:

"O Peter, Peter, Peter, Peter, Peter
Where dost thou sell, who buys thy matchless meter?"

and continues:

"Lucky, lucky, Pindar,
All bards who were, or are, to thee but wind are."[1]

Pasquin was less decent. His most important work was The Children of Thespis, in three parts, (1786-1788), a long-winded Rosciad in which he discussed the public, and often the private character of each player and many a playwright of the time.[2] Some of his criticisms are thoroughly intelligent. But a few years before the quarrel between Pindar and Gifford, "Anthony Pasquin" received such a drubbing at the hands of Gifford that his reputation has not recovered to this day. The terrible critic asserted in print"that his acquaintance was infamy, and his touch poison", and when the injured poet brought suit against him, proved the truth of his assertion, to the jury's satisfaction, by citing passages of ribaldry and irreligion from Pasquin's published works.[3] Williams was so utterly discomfited that he left his native shores and sought new fields of journalism in America. Here he wrote The Hamiltoniad, a satire with new local color of American life and politics,

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[1] The Miscellaneous Works of A. M'Donald; including the tragedy of Vimonda, and those productions which have appeared under the signature of Matthew Bramble, Esq. with various other compositions by the same author (London, 1791) p. 103.

[2] Republished in volume II of Poems by Anthony Pasquin (London, n.d.) c. 1790. Anthony Pasquin also published A Postscript to the New Bath Guide (London, 1790).

[3] The Baviad and Maeviad by William Gifford, Esq. 6th ed. (London, 1800), pp. 135-188. Epistle to Peter Pindar, 14-18. (p. 25.)

but much of his former vigor of expression.[1]

Thus the immediate followers of Dr. Wolcot imitated his weaknesses and his license, but could not adopt his easy talent for pointed irony in vivid narrative. He exerted a more important influence over some of the greater romantic poets. Byron, for example, seems to have been indebted to Pindar for ideas which he used in The Vision of Judgment as well as for something of the spirit of Don Juan and other satires.[2] And Burns admitted a slight debt to Peter Pindar, whose verse he admired.[3] The following stanzas from Pindar's Ode to the Devil (1789) suggest an indebtedness in the opposite direction:

"Prince of the dark abodes, I ween
Your Highness ne'er till now hath seen
Yourself in metre shine;
Ne'er heard a Song with praise sincere,
Sweet warbled in your smutty ear,
Before this Ode of mine.

Perhaps the reason is too plain:
Thou triest to starve the tuneful train,
Of potent verse afraid;

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[1] The Hamiltoniad (Boston, 1804). A typical passage runs:
"Like an old SCUNK, ...
Verb-murdering Noah sat, like Envy's muse,
In anger brandishing his goose-drawn pen;
The first of coxcombs, and the last of men!"
For an account of the disgusting character of Pasquin, and of Pindar's contempt for him, see J. Taylor, Records, I, 276-279.

[2] Reitterer, 145 and 146.

[3] Reitterer, 146.

And yet I vow, in all my time
I've not beheld a single Rhyme
That ever spoil'd thy trade.

I've often read those pious whims,
John Wesley's sweet Damnation Hymns,
That chant of heavenly Riches:
What have they done, those heavenly strains
Devoutly squeezed from canting brains,
But filled John's earthly Breeches?"[1]

This specimen illustrates the justice of Disraeli's judgment upon the poetry of Wolcot: "Far from applauding the subjects of Peter Pindar, we must admire a copiousness of imagery, and a facility of wit, which variegate his early productions with a constant variety."[2]

A discussion of the work of "Peter Pindar" rightly concludes an account of English satire between Churchill and Byron. For certainly he was the most important satirist of the period, and the best poet in the satirical style. Yet no one work of his is fairly representative of his powers. Most pretentious were the Lyric Odes and the Lousiad, but neither gives the reader a unified impression as of the result of artistic effort painstakingly focussed upon one task. Perhaps Bozzy and Piozzi more nearly than any other one piece in the five volumes, is typical of the noteworthy power of literary creation and satirical depiction which Wolcot possessed. At least it is

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[1] Peter Pindar, II, 159.

[2] Miscellanies; or Literary Recreations, By I. D'Israeli (London, 1796) p. 29. Peter Pindar is aligned with Gray as one of the two poets of the times who "have created an original manner" and therefore were at their first appearance received by critics with a stoical apathy."

distinctly literary satire, and as such of especial interest for the present study.

The history of satire in the period between Churchill and Byron may be quickly summarized. The first important poet in the kind, after Churchill, was Christopher Anstey, whose New Bath Guide brought him renown in 1767. Next came William Mason who published his famous and influential Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers in 1773, and his Archaeological Epistle to Dean Milles, a better but less popular poem, in 1782. Richard Tickell, whose Wreath of Fashion appeared in 1778, passed from this success in literary satire to party writing, but achieved a literary triumph in that field by taking a leading part in the production of the Rolliad. The Rolliad was succeeded by other Whig satires, most of them negligible. The best of these were the Probationary Odes and Political Eclogues. Of Tory satirists two wrote important detached pieces, William Gifford and Thomas James Mathias; the former produced two literary satires upon Della Cruscan poetry, the Baviad (1794) and the Maeviad (1795), the latter, several poems, but most notably the Pursuits of Literature (1794-1798). In the poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, the sharpest satire of the period, Gifford, Frere, Ellis, and Canning wrote most successfully. Their parodies were distinguished by the polished beauty of burlesque. Canning continued to write satire after the demise of the Anti-Jacobin; and Ireland, Lady Anne Hamilton, and he were the chief nineteenth century satirists before Byron stormed upon the stage in English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.

In addition to the party-writers whom we have mentioned, there were several poets not professional satirists who wrote satirically during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Such were Cowper, Crabbe, Blake, and Burns, who in different ways and places produced social satire of considerable

literary influence and some practical effect in the reformation of mankind. And Tom Moore, Byron's genial little contemporary, wrote pleasant satires. Finally there was one professional satirist who, though he sympathized with most kinds of radicalism and wrote against the King, was not a political writer, and, though he was a true artist, was far more a satirist than a poet. This man, with Boccaccio, Rabelais and Maupassant, has suffered for decency's sake. But, being more cold-bloodedly vigorous and less sensuous than the rest of them, "Peter Pindar" has lost readers of one sort without gaining those of another. In short, though he produced five volumes of entertaining verses, not half of which depend for their humor upon their contemporary allusions, Dr. John Wolcot has sunk into oblivion.

Chapter II.

The Spirit of Literary Satire.

The spirit of satire is typically one of superiority, contemptuous but interested. It is the spirit of Rhadamanthus passing sentence upon damned souls and inflicting punishments to fit crimes. The satirist judges his victims and then punishes them by wittily holding up their faults and follies to reprobation and ridicule. Unless he is an exception to the general rule, he shows by his manner that he enjoys his work.

Even among judges whose business it is to deal out pitiless justice to rebels, not every man is a Bloody Jeffreys and not every condemnation is to capital punishment. Likewise the spirit of literary satire,which resembles the conviction and sentencing of criminals in that it is merely destructive criticism, may vary in the intensity of its passion. In fact there was such variation in England in the years between the death of Churchill and the triumph of Byron; the tone of literary satire advanced for thirty years in regular progression from the gentlest politeness to the harshest vituperation. The curve of progress, if one were to plot it upon cross-ruled paper, would be fairly regular, with only such waverings and digressions as might be explained by the personal peculiarities of the more temperamental satirists.

At the beginning of the period, literary satire was only mildly critical of either conventional classicism or the new tendencies in literature. A reason for this mildness, in addition to the obvious one that classicism, to which satire naturally adhered, was everywhere triumphant and romantic manifestions were as yet inconspicuous in most kinds of writing, appears in the fact that theorists were advocating courtesy and restraint in satirical composition. As one might expect, such teaching affected chiefly the work of those poets who took a critical interest in the technique of their craft, the makers of literary satire.

This doctrine of moderation, which came naturally as a reaction from

the vituperative manner of Churchill, is unmistakably expressed by one of the satirists themselves. The Remonstrance (1764), which was a rebuke for Churchill's unrestrained style, defines thus the limitations of the good satirist:

"To form him various talents must combine,
And strength of genius Breeding should refine;
Skill'd in each various style:--Behold him grow
A Dryden, Flaccus, Churchill, or Boileau,
But push the character, 'tis alter'd quite,
What Pleas'd before will now offend the sight;
A Satirist who no decorum heeds,
Whose mean, base humour baseness only feeds,
Becomes an animal of loathsome birth...
Who, what were better hid, delights t'expose...
Tho', loud as Whit[efiel]d at our faults he storms
He truly most offends him who reforms;
He traverses the field of nature o'er,
But passes by each beauty and each flow'r." 1.

Christopher Anstey set forth from another point of view this idea of a need for reform in the style of satirical writing; he depicted, with something of sarcastic exaggeration, the low popular taste in satirical reading. In the appendix to The Patriot (1767), "containing the Author's conversation with his bookseller," the publisher tells him his pamphlet will not sell because

"You've writ neither blasphemy, bawdy, nor treason:
We hop'd you had something that's vendible for us,
But we find it is nothing but Pindar and Horace!
A mere compilation!"

Satire to be successful must be personal, says he, since the bookseller lives not by Greek and Latin, but by libel:

"'Tis your daggering stuff, my good friend, you will find,
That hits the malevolent taste of mankind." 2.

Thus Anstey expressed indirectly the idea which the author of The Remonstrance stated flatly, that an essential quality of good satire is polite moderation.

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1. The Remonstrance, A Poem (London, 1764), pp. 13-14. It will be noted that the name of Pope is not mentioned, andChurchill's is introduced only in accordance with the ironical contention of the poet, that Churchill is really an ideal satirist. The poem is addressed to Churchill; he apparently takes to himself the uncomplimentary allusions in this description of an immoderate satirist, for the remonstrator sarcastically pleads with him:

"Unclench that fist -- you wrong me, Sir --- sit down--
Meant it for you! -- How could you so suspect?"

2. Works of Anstey, 177. 179. 181.

In The Satirist (1771), another poet made similar assertions. He declared that the satirist, teaching by example and charming with his beautiful diction, must suit the style to the fault satirized, and by turns

"Flash the keen glance, or light the sportive smile."

Couplets he should use for the restrained expression of feeling, blank verse for great, majestic passages. He must aim at truth and avoid all artificiality:

"Let not feign'd passion, or false fury strike
To raise the style, at every crime alike." 1.

The Familiar Epistle to the Author of the Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers (1774) contains, besides especial personal and textual criticism, a significant declaration of the uselessness of bitter satirical writing. The poet inveighs particularly against attacking individuals; he urges his opponent, if he must write satire, to attempt only general satire of popular morality. He points out that the harsher satirists, Juvenal and Persius, survive only as tasks for schoolboys, and even the courteous Horace is remembered rather for his lyrics than for his satires. He adds, to clinch his argument, that nobody can hope to equal Churchill in satirical invective:

"---With toil thou may'st become at most
A thing resembling Churchill's ghost:
While wags shall own, nor sink thy merit,
They view his form, tho' not his spirit.
Then quit at once thy vain design,
And court the muse's smoother line: "

or, if you must write satire,

"Stand forth the general rod of man;
Give no distinction to thy scourge;
Thy satire's bolts impartial urge;
No more at private failures hurl'd,
But 'gainst the vices of a world." 2.

From these four examples it appears that in the decade after Churchill's death there was a reaction in favor of moderation and restraint in satirical writing.

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1. The Satirist: a Poem (London, 1771), pp. 1-36. Of course the writer urges the indignant rebuke of guilt, but he warns poets against insincerity and immoderate vituperation.

2. A Familiar Epistle to the Author of the Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers and of the Heroic Postscript to the Public. 2d ed. (London, 1774), p. 18.

Though this reaction had little effect upon the tone of political and social satire, in the development of literary satire its influence was important. The quality of moderation is apparent in the reception which, in the twenty years after Churchill, satire accorded to the various manifestations of the rebellious spirit of romanticism. This quality gradually disappeared, as years passed and the new spirit gained ground. But it is worthy of remark that in England, satire, the most conservative of classical genres, looked with less disfavor upon romantic ideas in 1770 than in 1807. Since this gradual change in the attitude of satire toward sentimentalism and romance will be shown in detail in the next chapter, it is sufficient here to present only the most important points.

The principal literary satires between 1765 and 1780 were uniformly mild in tone. The anonymous piece of theatrical criticism, The Theatres (1773), though its author's pseudonym was Sir Nicholas Nipclose, trimmed the verdant shoots of sentimental drama with the casual browsing of a fawn rather than the thorough cropping of a flock of sheep. Goldsmith's Retaliation (1774) was a most courteous retort. Tickell's Wreath of Fashion (1778) intended to ridicule fashionable verses without hurting the feelings of any poetaster, and in most cases its satire was extremely gentle. Even Peter Pindar, in his Epistle to the Reviewers (1778), employed irony much more mercifully than in many of his later satires. Mason likewise was politely ironical in his Archaeological Epistle (1782). And Cowper, always temperate and amiable, criticized literature in the same spirit in which he eulogized rabbits. All these satirists wrote literary satire which was mild in tone; this does not mean that their judgments were inaccurate, that they dealt out praise where blame was due. Indeed they indicated faults clearly and sometimes very neatly, but they did so in a cool, dispassionate way, as the Prussians plan their Schrecklichkeit.

Tickell's Wreath of Fashion was a typically calm piece of literary

satire. But if the general tendency was in favor of gentleness and moderation of satirical attack in 1778, it certainly was not so ten years later. The violence of literary satire, in particular, heightened as the new notions which it opposed gained strength. To the Rev. J. Moir, this increase in intensity of style must have seemed progress in the right direction. *The Wits*, his one literary satire, published in his *Gleanings; or Fugitive Pieces* (1785) is a rebuke of the chief contemporary satirists for being too easy upon the faults of the times. Internal evidence proves it to have been written about 1780. It reproaches Soame Jenyns, James Scott, Mason, Anstey, and Samuel Johnson for neglecting their opportunities. It identifies Mason as author of the *Epistle to Sir William Chambers*,

> "Of late, Sir William's quondam 'squire and bard!"

and calls upon him for political satire on the side of the Whigs.

Anstey it pictures as

> "Momus of Bath, whose laughter-loving muse,
> Wherever flitting folly flees, pursues."

But its best characterization is of the great and lazy Johnson after the publication of the *Lives of the Poets*:

> "Johnson grown rich, iniquity again
> Spreads and provokes his classic rage in vain!
> Now he reviews his conscious toils and vast,
> His rambles all, through moral science past.
> Full of the plaudits his efforts receiv'd,
> Careless who live, or not, as once he liv'd!
> Much as he hooted pensioners and bribes,
> With them goes snacks, and is what he describes;
> On Milton, though almost benumb'd with age,
> Pours all the virulence of party rage!
> But points no more derision at the great,
> Content to strut in literary state!
> All men of genius at his levee sees
> But such as rival him at repartees.
> For who yet ever knew a wit profest,
> Who, droll himself, could bear another's jest?
> Want oft has made him hector and exclaim
> Against the proud oppressor's ruthless aim!
> He then could make the foes of freedom smart,
> And poignards speak to every callous heart.
> Now hunger gripes not, all the world goes well,
> He eats at ease, and we may *go to hell*!" [1]

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[1] *Gleanings; or, Fugitive Pieces* (London, 1785), II, 135-150; *The Wits*. The rever- author explains in a note that the last three words of my last quotation are (end taken from one of Johnson's pamphlets and that this character was written during Johnson's lifetime.

In 1781 there appeared a literary satire which, though it possessed a romantic title, XSMWPDRIBVNWLXY: or, The Sauce-Pan, was sternly reactionary in its general tone. The piece is in part an imitation of Juvenal's First Satire, and its author owed something to Laurence Sterne and more to Richard Tickell. Anonymity is no injustice to the poet, for there are only three or four neat couplets in the entire one hundred and thirty pages. Yet the piece is of some historical interest for its comments upon writers, though most of those mentioned have sunk into oblivion. There are, however, references to Johnson, Sheridan, Cumberland, Mason, Walpole, and

"Miller, indeed, and her unequall'd race,
The lovely songsters of Bath Easton place."

And one reads with attention of how Tickell

"In see-saw juggle to each party leans,"

at the time when he was shifting from the Ministry's side to that of the Opposition, under the influence of Sheridan. Evidence of the tendency away from the moderation in satire which had characterized the previous decade is afforded by the Sauce-Pan's contemptuous remarks concerning the preface to the Wreath of Fashion. There, Tickell had politely disclaimed all intention to lampoon individuals; further he had declared that whether true or false, aspersions upon the character of individuals were too gross to be put into verse. Under such circumstances, says the author of XSMWPDRIBVNWLXY,

"Adieu, distinction, satire,warmth, and truth."

The contemptuous satirist sums up his opinion of mild-tempered Tickell in this couplet:

"Wouldst thou, like Tickell, swell with harmless vent,
That sentimental foe of sentiment!" 1.

Though George Crabbe was a great satirist and three of his early works, The Candidate (1778), The Library (1781), and The Newspaper (1785), might be considered literary satires or, more strictly, didactic poems on literary

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1. The four specimens from The Sauce Pan (London, 1781) may be found on pages 93, 80, 90, and 117.

subjects, with satirical passages interspersed, he was of little importance in the history of English literary satire. Yet even in his work we may observe the gradual change of tone from moderate ridicule to harsh rebuke, which characterized the progress of the genre in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The Candidate was a mildly conventional poem, and The Library scarcely less so.

The Candidate is an appeal to the authors of the Monthly Review to grant gentle judgment to the poet's forthcoming productions. It fairly bristles with modesty and dread of being pilloried in some future Dunciad. And the poet is all for conventional correctness in versification as in morals:

> "I would not dream o'er some soft liquid line,
> Amid a thousand blunders form'd to shine;
> Yet rather this, than that dull scribbler be,
> From every fault, and every beauty free,
> Curst with tame thoughts and mediocrity." 1.

The Library, a great success in its day, seems now a rather dull account of many books, with by way of preamble a bemoaning of the difference between decadent modern times and the good old days when a scholar spent his lifetime upon one opus and

> "Princes and kings received the ponderous gift,
> And ladies read the works they could not lift." 2.

Crabbe inveighs in traditional fashion against the critics, as the natural enemies of the race of poets. He has a few goods words for romances because they amused him in his childhood. His moral point of view is most conspicuous in the passage concerning history. He declares that where of late the Book of Martyrs stood, on a low shelf, ready at hand,

> "There, such the taste of our degenerate age,
> Stand the profane delusions of the Stage:
> Yet virtue owns the Tragic Muse a friend,
> Fable her means, morality her end."

And Comedy also shoots at folly, but misses because

> "Folly, by dulness arm'd, eludes the wound." 3.

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1. Works of Crabbe (Oxford edition), p. 18.
2. Crabbe, 22.
3. Crabbe, 31.

These two were cold pieces of verse, artificial and imitative. In The Newspaper (1785), though still thoroughly conventional, Crabbe put more of personality into his work. He had things of his own to say about the "vapid sheets", the "shifting turncoat papers" that some members of his flock stayed home from church on Sunday morning to read. He lashed various defects of journalism, such as the careless, space-filling methods of newspaper writers and the tendency of editorial remarks to stir up political arguments among muddled readers. But he did not rise to his strongest tone of disgust till he began to write of the sentimental poets whose brain-children infested such publications as the World and the Gentleman's Magazine. He expressed a dominant note in modern civilization when he declared:

"A master-passion is the love of news,
Not music so commands, nor so the Muse." 1.

The tone of the literary satire in The Rolliad was uniformly discourteous but rather contemptuous than abusive. The element of personal ridicule of literary men was strong and that of literary criticism comparatively slight. A reason for this state of affairs is to be found in the fact that the writers of the series of satirical squibs called The Rolliad were primarily political satirists and were writing at a time when political arguments centered upon men rather than issues. The only extensive sections of literary satire were in the Probationary Odes, but even there the criticism was chiefly of character and only incidentally of literary capabilities. A fair example is the "Irregular Ode for Music, by the Rev. Dr. Prettyman", written by General Burgoyne of Saratoga. In part a parody of Alexander's Feast, it is a very irregular piece which contains some suggestion of criticism upon Dr. Prettyman's formal verses and much downright abuse of him as an unprincipaled liar always ready to perjure himself for the sake of ecclesiastical or political preferment. A specimen will illustrate the unpleasant strength of this parody:

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1. Crabbe, p. 46.

"Sooth'd with the sound the Priest grew vain,
And all his tales told o'er again,
And added hundreds more;
By turns to this, or that, or both,
He gave the sanction of an oath,
And then the whole forswore.
'Truth,' he sung, 'was toil and trouble,
Honor but an empty bubble'--
Glo'ster's aged --London dying
Poor, too poor, is simple lying!
If the lawn be worth thy wearing,
Win, oh! win it, by thy swearing!" 1.

In general, the satirists of the Rolliad group were disinclined to moderation.

Another satirist who had little gentleness of spirit was Peter Pindar. Because his was an innate hatred for artificiality and restraint, his first important poem, the Epistle to the Reviewers (1778) was harsh as compared with other literary satires of the decade. Yet, as even hot tamales vary in temperature, so Peter's satires differ in the intensity of their strong language. As he grew older and more depraved, more and more a slave to gin, Peter's temper and its unrestrained expression in verse became bitterer and more rancorous. His Epistle to James Boswell (1786) was less conventional and courteous than the ironic message to the Reviewers, but not so uniformly invective as the Epistle to Sylvanus Urban (1790). In the former poem, he charged the Scottish biographer with acquiring literary fame under false pretenses:

"Thou mighty Shark for anecdote and fame;...
All hail!---At length, ambitious Thane, thy rage
To give one spark to Fame's bespangled page,
Is amply gratified; a thousand eyes
Survey thy books with rapture and surprise.
Loud, of thy Tour, a thousand tongues have spoken,
And wondered that they bones were never broken." 2.

Boswell the "curious Scrapmonger" seems to his critic to belittle his subject, Johnson, by the smallness of his biographical anecdotes:

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1. Rolliad (London, 1797), p. 349.

2. Peter Pindar, I, 319.

"I see thee stuffing, with a hand uncouth,
An old dried Whiting in thy Johnson's mouth;
And lo! I see with all his might and main,
Thy Johnson spit the Whiting out again...
Rare Anecdotes! 'tis Anecdotes like these
That bring thee glory, and the Million please:
On these shall future times delighted stare,
Thou charming Haberdasher of Small Ware.
Stewart and Robinson from thee shall learn
The _simple_ charms of history to discern.
To thee, fair History's palm shall Livy yield,
And Tacitus to Bozzy leave the field;
Joe Miller's self, whose page such fun provokes,
Shall quit his shroud, to grin at Bozzy's Jokes." 1.

Peter ironically urges Boswell to hasten the appearance of his _Life of Johnson_, and to fill it with gossip, not necessarily matter of fact. 2. The satire concludes with this quatrain:

"Yes : while the Rambler shall a Comet blaze,
And gild a world of darkness with its rays,
Thee too that world with wonderment shall hail,
A lively _bouncing_ Cracker at his tail." 3.

By way of postscript, he gives in plain prose an account of an apocryphal interview which he had with Johnson, during which Dr. Johnson called Boswell's _Account of Corsica_ a farrago of disgusting egotism and pompous inanity, and declared, "Boswell write my Life! why the fellow possesses not abilities for writing the life of an ephemeron." 4. It is little wonder that the biographer was unwilling to make friends with the satirist. Four years later, however, Peter was distinctly more pitiless in his treatment of John Nichols. In the _Benevolent Epistle to Sylvanus Urban_ (1790),he thus characterized Nichols, who as editor of the _Gentleman's Magazine_ naturally inherited the pseudonym of Mr. Urban:

"A literary Jackdaw thou, God wot;--
Yet by thy _thievish_ name I call'd thee not:
A carrion crow, that lives upon the dead;--
Yet hawk-like pounced I not upon thy head:
A daring coiner, lo! I let thee pass,
Nor once impeach'd thy literary Brass." 5.

1. Peter Pindar, I, 324.
2. Peter Pindar, I, 327.
3. Peter Pindar, I, 330.
4. Peter Pindar, I, 332,333.
5. Peter Pindar, II, 272-273.

There are lines as harsh as these on every page. Nor do the passages quoted represent the satirist at his nastiest. The following remarks, for example, which are concerned with Nichols' having, in Peter's opinion, succeeded Dr. Johnson as superintendent of the Gentleman's Magazine lead up to an indecent climax here omitted:

"Know, when thou took'st of Aristarch the chair,
My eyes expanded only to a stare:
Softly indeed unto myself I sigh'd,
'Johnson, thy place is damnably supplied.'
Not that I think this idol of the Million,
Longinus, Aristotle, or Quintilian:
Who gives (against sound taste so apt to sin)
A Pyramid's importance to a Pin..." 1.

Clearly, Peter Pindar's literary satire grew bitterer as years passed.

In connection with this passage about Doctor Johnson, it is interesting to observe a similar one from The Beauties of the Brinsleiad (London, 1785). This work was a Tory reply to the Criticisms on the Rolliad, and as such primarily a political satire. Since political satire was little affected by the movement for moderation in satirical writing, it is natural to find abusive harshness in the incidental critical comments of a political piece published five years after the reaction had begun even in literary satire. Here Johnson is maligned as one of those critics who find fault with Milton, Pope, and Swift, and

"Make pregnant stanzas, by their shrewd explaining,
Sink into utter emptiness of meaning;...
Whose spewy style, in place of wholesome herbage,
Shocks the disgusted taste with rancid verbage;
Who Whigs, as wits, thro' loyalty condemn,
(Pensions are parts and principle with them)
And envious now, and now corrupt, by fits,
Lash Tories too for daring to be wits;
Whose dropsied periods scarce their limbs can carry,
Swoll'n and diseas'd with too much dictionary;
Whose strange tautology, thro' Europe sought,
From distant Latium and from Athens brought,

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1. Peter Pindar, II, 268-269.

Supplies a foreign wardrobe for a thought;
Whose tinsel robes of tawdry language trail,
Slatterns in fine attire, a drabble tail;
Whose monst'rous thoughts, diminutive and vile,
Seem pigmy pages to a giant style..." 1.

Anthony Pasquin represents the position of literary satire at the end of the decade in which he thrived. In his work the spirit was more cynical and no more restrained than in the work of the debauched Peter Pindar of 1790. Indeed Pasquin's virulence represents better the literary satire of the next decade than that of the time in which he wrote. And yet his style, at least in *The Children of Thespis* (1786-1788), was not so indecent and abusive as it has been painted; his worst enemy was Gifford, the most influential of literary satirists, and therefore he has lived in literary history as the dirty fiend which Gifford pictured him. A fairly long quotation will serve to explain his reputation for irreverence and cynicism:

"From the itch to be witty what miseries flow,
When the toil of the brain but establishes woe! ...
Hence Pristley with pride vague opinions dispenses;
And Cumberland's pleas'd that his muse, tho' in years,
Should annual conceive, tho' each brat's born in tears.

But Cowley and Inchbald more mad than their neighbors,
With God and the Devil besprinkle their labours;
Sure the traits of the mind must be oddly directed,
When their bawdry destroys what their morals effected.
But writing and wisdom set each at defiance,
And journey no longer in peace and alliance;
This Walpole told Chatterton, speaking of skill,
When the half-famish'd bard rov'd to Strawberry Hill.
Talk to me, man, of genius! Why, zounds, 'tis all stuff,
Go write when you're rich, and the thing's well enough:
Will Genius protect you from Want's fell decree?
Then leave bleak Parnassus to Hayley and me;
Books charm by their dress tho' the language is vapoury,
As fools blaze at court by the aid of their drapery."1.

Anthony Pasquin, in his unrestrained opposition to the evils which he saw in contemporary drama, is the connecting link between the more moderate literary

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1. *The Beauties of the Brinsleiad; or, a Sketch of the Opposition: a Poem.* Interspersed with notes. No. I.(London, 1785), pp. 21-22. The frame of the piece is a rambling narrative about Sheridan.

2. *Works of Pasquin*, pp. 159-161; *Children of Thespis*, Part II.

satirists of the first part of our period and the conservative poets who sternly upheld the old against the new in the last decade of the eighteenth century. In the twenty-five years since the death of Churchill, the spirit of literary satire, at first gently Horatian, had become gradually more severe. Now, in the work of Gifford, Mathias, and the poets of the Anti-Jacobin, it was utterly stern and uncompromising.

From 1790 on to the end of the chapter, literary satire was, for the most part, pitiless in its rebuke of all phases of romanticism, and devoted itself almost entirely to that rebuke. The political and social conditions of that revolutionary time made satire less hospitable than it might otherwise have been to liberalizing influences in the world of letters. Hence, corrosive acrimony of attack continued to be common in literary, as in political, satire in England throughout the years of the French Revolution. In The Theatre (1790), an obscure poet named Samuel Whyte deprecated the generally recognized harshness of satire in his day. He agrees that vice should be scourged in witty ridicule, and yet he sees the evil in unrestrained rebuke of excesses:

> "Even so the Aretins of modern rhyme,
> With pens immers'd in gall pourtray the times;
> But with licencious images inflame,
> And spread contagion as they spread the shame;
> Quick to the brain the noxious vapours rise,
> The good depress'd, a caput mortuum lies.
> Howe'er on classic grounds they take defence;
> Howe'er adroit their nostrums they dispense;
> Impartially let loss and gain be tri'd,
> And soon the balance Reason will decide." [1]

Such objections to the bitterness of satire were few indeed, however, and the general tendency continued to be in favor of granting no quarter to the enemies of the established order in society, politics, or literature.

Thomas James Mathias was one of the chief literary satirists of the

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[1] The Theatre: a Didactic Essay. Including an Idea of the Character of Jane Shore, as performed by a young lady in a private play, &c.&c. By Samuel Whyte (Dublin, 1790), pp. 21-22.

time, and he shared the general spirit of intolerance which intensified the tone of satirical writing on the side of Tory Anglican conservatism. But in several respects his work is not typical. He was like many another literary satirist in the fact that while he pretended to judge literature according to aesthetic standards he really estimated its value by its tendency to uphold the old order in politics and religion. In short, he damned all unconstitutionality, all radicalism. He was a moralist, not entirely without sentimentality; and sometimes like many other critics he judged a literary work by its moral influence. His moralizing he sometimes carried to absurd lengths, as in his comments upon Dr. Darwin's Botanic Garden. In a footnote, he objected to the "prettinesses, glittering words, points, conceits, and forced thoughts", but in his verses he offered purely ethical criticism:

> "What? .... from the Muse, by cryptogamic stealth
> Must I purloin her native sterling wealth?
> In filmy, gawzy, gossamery lines,
> With lucid language, and most dark designs,
> In sweet tetrandryan, monogynian strains,
> Pant for a pystill in botanic pains;
> On the luxurious lap of Flora thrown,
> On beds of yielding vegetable down,
> Raise lust in pinks; and with unhallow'd fire
> Bid the soft virgin violet expire?" 1.

This passage illustrates also another peculiar quality of Mathias' satire, his subtle, pedantic wit. The spirit of literary satire in his work, as in other satires of the decade, was essentially grim and pitiless, but whereas other satirists ridiculed their victims with vulgar direct wit or the more acute raillery of burlesque, he pointed his shafts with deep and ingenious jokes based upon erudite classical allusions. Read, for example, his jocular comments upon Shakespearian criticism:

> "Must I for Shakspeare no compassion feel,
> Almost eat up by commentating zeal?
> On Avon's banks I heard Actaeon mourn
> By fell Black Letter Dogs in pieces torn;
> Dogs that from Gothic kennels eager start,
> All well broke-in by Coney-catching Art,

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1. Pursuits of Literature, pp. 54-44; Canto I, ll. 81-90.

So tender to the Paphian notes they move,
And seem as they were only born for love.
Hark, Johnson smacks his lash; loud sounds the din:
Mounted in rear see Steevens Whipper-in,
Rich with the spoils of learning's Black domain,
And Guide supreme o'er all the tainted plain." 1.

Though the Pursuits of Literature seems dull pedantry to some modern readers, it was highly popular in its day. One reason for its success was that it involved praise of almost all the conservative writers and politicians of the day. It was not merely or even mainly a poem in praise of authors; some passages show as vigorous denunciation as one might wish for, even though there is nothing so violent as the most abusive of Gifford's lines. The "picturesque" interpretation of romantic scenery which was advocated by the Rev. William Gilpin seemed to Mathias rank nonesense. In the following passage, the disgusted satirist mocks the affected descriptive language used by Gilpin:

"Or tread the maze of picturesque delight,
From Holwood paint with Pitt the prospect bright;
Without one 'line of boundary' to speech,
The summit of conceit with Gilpin reach.
In Desolation's dread partitions felt,
With dip, and bole, grand masses, burst, and belt,
With shudders tremulous explore your way,
Through plashy inundations led astray;
Till tir'd and jaded with the coxcomb strains,
Homeward you stead 'thro' Surry's quite lanes,'
Renounce all Gilpin's jargon, said or sung,
And talk of Nature's work in Nature's tongue." 2.

The satire is ineffective for the modern reader because the diction which Mathias here derides as a sign of Gilpin's affectation is now commonplace English.

The poets of the Anti-Jacobin were unmerciful in their satire upon

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1. Pursuits, pp. 82-85. There are only four lines on a page, three quarters of each being filled with explanatory notes. There is a passage in mockery of Black Letter antiquarianism at the end of the Criticisms on the Rolliad and another in Ireland's Stultifera Navis. All these were probably descended from a brief comment upon antiquarianism in The Dunciad. See chapter on The Form of Literary Satire, supra.

2. Pursuits, pp. 274-275; Dialogue Four, ll. 251-262.

contemporary literature. Their one formal satire, New Morality, of which Canning was the chief author, was especially violent in tone. A passage concerning newspapers will illustrate the spirit and style:

> "Couriers and Stars, Sedition's evening host,
> Thou Morning Chronicle and Morning Post,
> Whether ye make the Rights of Man your theme,
> Your country libel, and your God blaspheme,
> Or dirt on private worth and virtue throw,
> Still, blasphemous or blackguard, praise LEPAUX!" 1.

In the critical parodies, the sternness of manner was modified somewhat by the poets' artistic pride in the neat cleverness of their imitations. Consider, for example, the following passage from The Progress of Man in literal parody of lines written by Payne Knight in his didactic poem, The Progress of Civil Society (1796):

> "Mark the fell leopard through the desert prowl,
> Fish prey on fish, and fowl regale on fowl;--
> How Lybian tigers' chawdrons love assails,
> And warms, 'midst seas of ice, the melting whales;-
> Cools the crimpt cod, fierce pangs to perch imparts,
> Shrinks shrivell'd shrimps, but opens oysters' hearts;-
> Then say, how all these things together tend
> To one great truth, prime object, and good end?" 2.

Here Canning labored especially to produce in sounds similar to those of his original an absurd exaggeration of its ideas. His anxious care for excellence of parody distracted him somewhat from his passionate hatred of republicanism; therefore the satire is keen and telling but neither bitter nor harsh. Nevertheless, in spite of some modification of tone because of their careful artistry, the satirists of the Anti-Jacobin were typically relentless in their pursuit of the faults of their victims. No satire could be less moderate than the Friend of Humanity where theoretical democracy and classical metres are alike condemned

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1. Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, edited by Charles Edmonds, 3rd. ed. (London,1890), p. 284.
2. Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, pp. 104, 106 n. The next to the last couplet is parodied from these lines of Knight:

> "Some fainter irritations seem to feel,
> Which o'er its languid fibres gently steal."

utterly by means of humorous mimicry; it is more effective than mere invective could have been, because it is at once more courteously restrained and more witty. Gifford had a share in several of the artistic parodies which made the Anti-Jacobin living literature, but there was something foreign to his genius in the restraint which such tasks placed not merely upon form and style of expression but upon the extent of condemnation of the objects satirized. He liked to give free rein to his talent for destructive criticism.

Because he had the satiric temperament, and, with a sardonic grin and a snarl, reveled in holding up other people's faults to public reprobation, William Gifford was the typical English literary satirist of the last decade of the eighteenth century. Nothing ever provoked his classic rage in vain! He was a classicist and a Tory fighting stern battles with liberal and romantic ideas. None of Tickell's turn-coat gentleness for him. He wrote in the decade of the French Revolution, when nobody could be moderate. And the decade of the American Revolution, when Chesterfield's Letters set the conservative standard of behavior, was twenty years since. The concluding couplet of The Wreath of Fashion is typical of its mild satire upon sentimental poetry:

> "Triumphant art! Let vanquish'd nature mourn
> Her lost simplicity, o'er Shenstone's urn."

Gifford wrote otherwise when he condemned the sentimental poetry of his day, making up by the machine gun insistence of his diction for his lack of original ideas. The sort of verse which Tickell calls flimsy gauze and tinsel, he rejects even unto nausea:

> "The ropy drivel of rheumatic brains." 1.

This line is from The Beviad. The Maeviad is not quite so violent in tone, but shows a like spirit in its utter and complete condemnation of all sentimental poetry. To Merry, Gifford says:

> "Now --- But I sing in vain; from first to last,
> Your joy is fustian, and your grief bombast." 2.

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1. The Baviad and Maeviad (London, 1800) 6th ed., p. 44, Baviad, L. 279.
2. Maeviad, ll. 83-84.

Not satisfied with combating the comparatively defenceless sentimental bards, Gifford tried to rid the world of two noisome satirists, Anthony Pasquin and Peter Pindar. With Pasquin he was, as we have observed, successful in his attack. But Peter Pindar was of sterner stuff.

We have seen that Pindar never, even in his earliest days, grasped clearly the notion of artistic self-restraint and that as his prestige and prosperity increased he spoke more and more freely. A reason for the coarseness and harshness of some of his later pieces may be found in the fact that he was sinking deeper and deeper into the abyss of debauchery. Whatever the cause, his style had risen to the greatest intensity of abusiveness in the very year, 1800, when he attacked William Gifford by mistake for John Gifford, the editor of the Anti-Jacobin Review in which Peter had been harshly criticized. In the Postscript to Lord Auckland's Triumph (1800), he used against the author of the Baviad the weapons of classical satire, contemptuous epithets and filthy obscenity. Two characteristic sentences are:

> "I must confess that I have at times smiled at the unmeaning noisy lines of two wretched things called Baviad and Maeviad, and smiled moreover at the self-consequence of their author." "I may have said, that a fellow with the form of the letter Z, who publicly attacks an unfortunate woman for a disorder of which the Divine Being is the sole author, is little less than a demon and a fool." 1.

Gifford replied in kind, rising in the Epistle to Peter Pindar (1800) to the highest pitch of satirical virulence. In one passage he invites Peter to combat:

"Come then, all filth, all venom as thou art,
Rage in thy eye, and rancour in thy heart,
Come with thy boasted arms, spite, malice, lies,
Smut, scandal, execrations, blasphemies;
I brave 'em all."

And again he describes how Peter

"Crawls forth, a shiny toad, and spits and spues,
The crude abortions of his loathsome muse, 2.

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1. Peter Pindar, IV, 335, 337.

2. Epistle to Peter Pindar (London, 1800), 27, 34.

> On all that Genius, all that Worth holds dear,
> Unsullied rank, and piety sincere." 1.

This was Gifford's least temperate satire, and as such it represents the end of the development of English literary satire in the last third of the eighteenth century. 2.

The development of the Spirit of English literary satire after Churchill ends with Gifford. Between his Epistle to Pindar (1800) and Byron's English Bards (1809) there was no important literary satire in verse. Mant's Simpliciad (1808), a poem of more interest than significance, is rather mild in tone, while the chief general satires which contain incidental bits of literary comment are in tone and style weak imitations of the satires of Gifford and his contemporaries. For the spirit if not for the content of his literary

1. Epistle to Peter Pindar (London, 1800), 27, 34.

2. The quarrel, and especially the physical encounter between Wolcot and Gifford afforded occasion as has been mentioned in Chapter I for two mock-epics which are in a class by themselves. Both were inspired, probably, by Swift's Battle of the Books. The longer poem, Thomas Dermody's Battle of the Bards, shows also the influence of Pope's mock-heroic style and that of R. O. Cambridge, author of the Scribleriad (1751). The introduction abounds in learned allusions after the manner of Mathias, and involves slurs upon Peter Pindar, Anthony Pasquin, and Thomas Dutton, a critic of "sapient superiority of intellect". The poem, which is written in insignificant heroic couplets, is divided into two cantos. The first tells of the reviewer's destructive assault upon Peter's fame as a poet, ~~and~~ allotting a few unpleasant lines to each of the men mentioned in the introduction; the second describes in true epic fashion the battle itself, devoting several lines to Peter's being awakened and urged on to the combat by a goblin and being warned of impending disgrace by the ghost of Thomas Wharton [sic] . The other poem is a unique piece of macaronic verse, Bardomachia, Poema Macaronico-Latinum (London, 1800) by Alexander Geddes. Petrus Pindaricus writes Gifford a threatening letter, and then, seizing a cudgel, goes in search of Maeviades, whom he finds sitting in a chair.

> "An tu Maeviades? Insignis furcifer! an tu?"

shouts Petrus, and his blows fall upon the head of Gifford like those of Hercules upon the heads of the hydra. But Apollo and Phoebus come to the rescue of Gifford

> "Ac hominem portarum ad limina pushunt."

As a result,

> "Et nunc, Maeviades, grown bold, de sede resurgit,
> Et baldum Petri cranium cum fuste minaci
> Poscit...."

delivering at the same time a long speech beginning:

> "Bestia brutorum brutissima! Bufo Lutose!"

satire Byron was indebted to none of his immediate predecessors but Gifford. A graph of the intensity of tone in English literary satire would show a gradual and fairly steady rising curve from The Theatres (1773), Retaliation (1774), The Wreath of Fashion (1778), through The Epistle to the Reviewers (1778), the Archaeological Epistle (1782), Probationary Odes (1785), Epistle to Boswell (1786), The Children of Thespis (1786-1788), The Pursuits of Literature (1794-1798), The Baviad (1794), The Maeviad (1795), the poetry of the Anti-Jacobin (1798), to the Epistle to Peter Pindar (1800). Thereafter there would be a straight dotted line inclined slightly below the horizontal, to English Bards and Scotch Reviewers (1809).

Chapter III.

The Attitude of Satire toward Sentimentalism and Romanticism.

The last third of the eighteenth century was an age especially encouraging to the kind of satire which criticizes writers and their work. For it was a period when satire, the most persistent of classical kinds and by nature conservatively censorious, was still vigorous and eager for combat, while creative writing, in the novel, poetry, and the drama, represented a rebellion from the old and a turning to the new. Mason, Tickell, Gifford, and Mathias had Pope's model, and more important, his precedent for literary satire, but not his difficulties. Even Pope's enemies were in agreement with him on fundamental principles of writing; he had only Dulness to rebuke. These later satirists, on the other hand, though less inspired were more fortunate in their objects of attack, for they met much of mere Dulness, when old forms persisted without taste or talent, and also much of radical dissension from literary laws established. They had another advantage in the fact that the romantic spirit had not yet won a complete victory over thoughtful English readers; the satirists found a ready hearing for their mockery of the new glorification of individuality and emotion. Their time, because it was a time of revolutionary ideas in letters and in society, was especially favorable not only to political satire but to literary satire as well. The latter, indeed, increased in importance and developed in technique as the emotionalism which it combated grew stronger.

Sentimentalism, that hardy perennial, was at the beginning of our period but mildly criticized by the satirists. Their opposition to it grew more determined as it became allied with more distinctly romantic qualities. Nevertheless, literary satire early showed approval of much that is called romanticism, new interest in the Middle Ages and in Nature, individualism, rebellion against obeying the Rules and imitating the Ancients. It was not until all these forces united, all these tendencies toward emotion and away from reason, that satire

rallied strongly to the defense of the old order.

Observe first the gradually increasing hostility to sentimentalism unallied with the more revolutionary aspects of romanticism. After Churchill there had come a reaction from Juvenal to Horace in the tone of satire,[1] and in the days of the American Revolution literary satirists were very gentle in their critical judgments. For example, The Theatres (1772)[2] represents at its bitterest an unimpassioned contempt for the sentimental dramatists who made their audiences weep moral tears. The satire no doubt piqued the pride of the playwrights whom it derided, but it touched them with neat thrusts quite different from the downright guillotine-crashes which characterized English literary satire of the revolutionary days that were to come. Arthur Murphy, for instance,

"a dramatic wight,
Whom taste must wish had never learn'd to write,"

is denominated, for his stealing from the French,

"The literary smuggler of this isle,
Whose works from genuine genius claim a smile
Not of applause." 3.

Hugh Kelly, the author of False Delicacy (1768), is advertised as

"Vending in dialogue sermonic scenes";

and again thus:

"Kelly between the sister muses steers,
Too grave for laughter and too light for tears." 4.

Less well known dramatists are almost as calmly chidden for their faults

"Hull has good feelings, and possesses sense,
Yet to an author'sfame shews small pretence;
Much better must he write, who hopes to rise,
Than Spanish Ladies, or Perplexities;
To turn a period, or to clink a rhime,
With little wit, and less of the sublime,
May be call'd writing, yet is waste of time." 5.

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1. For suggestion of a reason for this reaction, see Chapter II ante..
2. Minor satires concerning the theatre were common. Such were Kelly's Thespis and the various replies to it, among them, The Kellyad, by Louis Stamma, The Rescue: or Thespian Scourge, by John Brownsmith, and Anti-Thespis, For accounts of these pieces see Mo. Rev., XXXV, 388-390; XXXVI, 77,79, and 162.
3. The Theatres, pp.26-27.
4. The Theatres, pp. 28,29.
5. The Theatres, p. 36. Of course some of the rebukes are less courteous. Bickerstaff is called a "scribbling jay" and

"Rough as a rope-maker, lo! Reed comes forth."

Goldsmith is given moderate praise for the very sentimentality which, in drama, he contended against:

> "Goldsmith, who teems with sentiments refin'd,
> Speaks in his works a pregnant, lib'ral mind;
> And shew'd, tho' we condemn his gen'ral plan,
> Strong tints of life in his Good Natur'd Man;
> Yet don't we wish to meet him on the stage,
> 'Twill spoil the foremost poet of our age." 1.

But the keenest edge of this courteous satire upon sentimental comedy appears in the concluding passage of unstinted commendation for that burlesquer of all sentimentality, Samuel Foote:

> "The muse at length, with painful censure tir'd,
> Meets with an author worthily admir'd;
> Rival'd in strength of character by few,
> Rich in a fund of humour ever new;
> Whose pregnant pencil takes from life each tint,
> Whose thoughts are stamp'd in brilliant Fancy's mint;
> Who never makes a vain, or feeble hit;
> Terse in his stile, and polish'd in his wit:
> Copious in subject, yet compact in scenes,
> Dull explanation never intervenes:
> Each line, each person, under just controul,
> Speaks to the heart, and beautifies the whole:
> Laughter attends --- spleen flies the house of joy
> When genius Foote and nature never cloy." 2.

David Garrick,[3] to whom this satire has sometimes been attributed, certainly not upon the internal evidence, was indirectly connected with another

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1. The Theatres, 34.
2. The Theatres, 39.
3. Garrick was the subject of several minor literary satires. His organization of the Shakspere celebrations at Stratford in 1769 brought forth Shakesspeare: an Epistle which has already been mentioned, and The Ode on dedicating a Building and erecting a Statue to Le Stuf Cook to the Duke of Newcastle, at Claremont; with notes by Martinus Scriblerus. To which are prefixed Testimonies to the Genius and Merits of Le Stuf (noticed in Mo. Rev., XLI, Oct., 1769, 318-319) in parody of Garrick's Ode upon Dedicating a Building and Erecting a Statue to Shakespeare, at Stratford upon Avon, with some Testimonies to the Genius and Merits of Shakespeare. The Rev. Evan Lloyd, author of The Curate (1766) and The Methodist (1766) published in 1773 An Epistle to David Garrick, Esq. in reply to attacks upon Garrick by W. Kenrick. This pamphlet is reviewed in the Monthly Review (XLVIII, Jan, 1773, 70). Garrick wrote two amusing satires upon himself, The Fribbleriad (1761) and The Sick Monkey (1765), both of which are republished in The Poetical Works of David Garrick, Esq. (London, 1785), I, 11-34, 35-52.

piece of gentle but effective satire upon the sentimental comedy. As a maker of satirical epigrams, he was notable among the gentlemen of a day when such composition was one of the polite accomplishments. And it was his "poor Poll" extempore epitaph that set Goldsmith to work upon the series of satirical characterizations. The member of the Club whom Goldsmith satirized with keenest irony was Doctor Cumberland, the chief of sentimental dramatists. The author of The Theatres sarcastically hailed Cumberland as

"The pride, the joy, the wonder of the age--"

but a moment later had so far forgotten Horatian moderation as to declare that the doctor

"Defies all grammar and no theme pursues." 1.

Goldsmith characterized Cumberland as a "sweetbread" and then bestowed upon him this critical epitaph:

"Here Cumberland lies, having acted his parts,
The Terence of England , the mender of hearts;
A flattering painter, who made it his care
To draw men as they ought to be, not as they are.
His gallants are all faultless, his women divine,
And comedy wonders at being so fine!
Like a tragedy queen he has dizen'd her out---
Or rather like tragedy giving a rout.
His fools have their follies so lost in a crowd
Of virtues and feelings, that folly grows proud;
And coxcombs, alike in their failings alone,
Adopting his portraits, are pleas'd with their own.
Say, where has our poet this malady caught?
Or wherefore his characters thus without fault?
Say, was it that vainly directing his view
To find out men's virtues, and finding them few,
Quite sick of pursuing each troublesome elf,
He grew lazy at last --- and drew from himself?" 2.

Thus Goldsmith gently insinuated his private opinion of the essential falsity of sentimental comedy. His satire shows no stern opposition to the absurd kind of drama that the public happened to want in those days, though he had in his

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1. The Theatres, p. 27.

2. The Poetical Works of Oliver Goldsmith .. ed. Austin Dobson (London, 1905). pp. 56-57. Cumberland seems to have taken this irony seriously. See Williams, Richard Cumberland (New Haven, 1917), pp. 126-130.

own plays tried to restore the popularity of straightforward "laughing" comedy. Sentimentality was not entirely absent from his dramatic work, nor was it from that of the other two dramatists who satirized the drama of sensibility, Foote and Sheridan. But Sheridan in <u>The Critic</u> (1779) was more pitiless than Goldsmith in his mockery of sentimentalism.[1.] When <u>The Critic</u> was presented the drama of sensibility was at its triumphant zenith. Thus we see that as the spirit of individuality and emotionality gained strength on the stage, as in other departments of literature, satire's attack increased in vehemence and intensity.

Tickell's <u>Wreath of Fashion</u> (1778)[1], criticizing sentimentalism in another of its aspects, is a striking example of the moderation of satirical tone which distinguished literary satires in the early part of our period. The object of its gentle mockery is the saccharine verse of the Bath-easton coterie. Richard Tickell, Sheridan's brother-in-law, was himself a frequent sojourner at Bath, and so of his own knowledge he knew Lady Miller and her bards.[2] But he criticized them not for their own sake merely, but as typical of the contemporary taste for insufficiently motivated emotionality. In the prefatory advertisement he remarks tolerantly upon his "having lately studied, with infinite attention, several fashionable productions in the <u>Sentimental</u> stile; in most of which, a mis-application, not a defect, of talents seemed to have betrayed their Authors into some degreee of false taste." He declares that "to canvas the <u>slighter imperfections</u>, either of stile or of conduct, seems to be the limit of poetical

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1. For an account of Foote's satire upon the sentimental school, see Professor Ernest Bernbaum's <u>The Drama of Sensibility</u>, pp.214-215.

2. <u>The School for Satire</u> (London, 1801) contains, pp. 143-159, <u>The Wreath of Fashion</u>, with the incidental note "(Printed originally 1780)", and the title page is missing from the separate copy which I have used. But the British Museum <u>Catalogue of Printed Books</u> gives titles of four editions dated 1778 and none earlier.

3. For Characterization of Tickell see Sichel's <u>Sheridan</u> (Boston, 1909), I, 441-444. The date of <u>The Wreath of Fashion</u> is given as 1774.

censure", and adds that "only the desperate Satyrist" indulges in personal attacks.[1] He begins his poem by contrasting the spontaneity of good lyric poetry with the simpering affectation of the fashionable versifiers.

"When first the Muse recorded Beauty's praise,"

says he,

"Sweet was the Poet's song, undeck'd by art,
For Love was Nature, and his theme the heart."

Such poets were Ovid and Prior, but nowadays there is no expression of real emotion in poetry. The modern bard simply "sighs serenely for unfeeling praise." "This purer taste, this philosophic art" Tickell proceeds to analyze, showing that it falls far short of the excellence of classical simplicity. He begins his survey by observing the unnatural morality of the new comedy:

"First, for true grounds of Sentimental lore,
The scenes of modern Comedy explore."

The typical plays he finds

"Dramatic homilies devout and sage."

For a representative of "the tragic-comic sect", he pitches upon Cumberland, who was indeed the leader of the school. An example of the unreality of Cumberland's characterization our satirist finds in the fact that his philosophic lover "cooly waits" for his mistress. Next, leaving the field of drama, Tickell proceeds to give an aspiring lyric poet ironical advice, telling him to strew his "temperate lays",

"With Moral raptures, and sententious praise,"

and to choose as the object of his poetic devotion and the subject of his verses

"No giddy Nymph, of youth and beauty vain,
But some fair Stoic, link'd in Hymen's chain...
Now, sick of vanity, with grandeur cloy'd,
She leans on Sentiment, to sooth the void;
Deep in Rousseau, her purer thoughts approve
The Metaphysics of Platonic Love.
Thine be the task, with quaint, fantastic phrase,
To variegate her unimpassion'd praise.
Poetic Compliments from Sonnets cull---
Harmonious quibbles, logically dull!"

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[1] School for Satire, pp. 145-146. In his political satires, Tickell seems to have felt less of polite restraint.

Tickell expresses a dislike for

"Problems in verse, and sophistry in rhyme,"

and a preference for natural poetry written in accordance with reasonable precepts. He grants that Cowley, Spenser(spelt Spencer), and Petrarch distilled mimic sighs successfully into poetry, but the modish poet is, in the satirist's opinion, foolish to try to follow their example.

After so much of introductory observation concerning sentimentalism in general, the poet proceeds to his taks of assigning the Wreath of Fashion to the most deserving of the sentimental bards. First he describes the shrine of Fashion:

"Here spurious art and mimic Science pour
Whims of a day, and theories of an hour."

Here too, as at Lady Millar's

"What soft poetic incense breaths around!
What soothing hymns from Adulation sound!
Here, placid Carlisle breathes his gentle line,
Or haply, gen'rous Hare, reOechoes thine...." 1.

The one significant passage in the entire satire is the speech put into the mouth of the laureat Whitehead upon the occasion of his dropping into the vase of sentiment a poem called the Goat's Beard. He discusses, "in the Pindaric style of all Laureats", the danger of his losing his place if poets were to come to the King and Queen with verses and presents, after the example of Lord Clare, who on New Year's Day had brought her Majesty a poem and a piece of Irish poplin.[2]

"Ah me! if Poets barter for applause,
How Jerningham will thrive on flimsy gause!"

Luttrell will do as well with tatter'd tinsel, Carlisle with Paduasoy, and Garrick with a remnant of Jubilee brocade,

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1. This incident, three years before, had called forth a satirical parody: Verses addressed to the ------ with a New Year's gift of Irish potatoes. By Lord knows who. In imitation of a late poem Clarior e tenebus (London, 1776).
2. The mention of Lord Carlisle is interesting because it is echoed in English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.

"While Anstey, the reversion to obtain,
Vamps his Bath drugget, till he spoils the grain." 1.

The poet incidentally rebukes his brother Sheridan for allowing himself to be inveigled into the fashionable Bath-easton circle.

"Canst thou to fashion's tyranny submit,
Secure in native, independent wit?
Or yield to Sentiment's insipid rule,
By Taste, by Fancy, chac'd thro' Scandal's School?" 2.

Tickell's estimation of the "new poetry" is represented in this couplet:

"A motley heap of metaphorick sighs---
Laborious griefs, and studied exstasies..." 3.

In literary satire, then, Tickell was a champion of natural and inspired lyric poetry as opposed to the artificial, sentimental product, and of sincere, matter-of-fact common sense as opposed to sententious idealizing in all departments of literature. In short, he showed moderation in his literary taste. Likewise he showed moderation in the style of his satire, which consisted for the most part of neat, antithetical couplets in a tone of mild and polite ridicule.

Another satirist who rebuked sentimentalism in the year 1778 was Peter Pindar; his style was not so smoothly refined as that of Richard Tickell. And yet even Dr. Wolcot was distinctly gentler in his early literary satires, such as the Epistle to the Reviewers (1778) than in such later pieces as Nil Admirari (1799). From the first, to be sure, this literary surgeon wielded with telling effect the keen scalpel of irony, but as he grew older he used upon occasion the

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1. The allusion is of course to Anstey's inability to do anything so good as his first satire, The New Bath Guide. His poem called Envy (1778) is of interest in connection with The Wreath of Fashion because it involves high praise of some poets, among them Jerningham and Temple Luttrell, whom Tickell blames for excessive sentiment. One couplet which seems to indicate a connection between the two poems runs:

Her fairest wreath the Muse shall twine,
And, Jerningham, that wreath be thine."

(Anstey, Works, p. 248). cf. also Charity, or, Momus's Reward (Bath, 1775); Tickell probably got the suggestion for characterizing authors by inanimate objects from Goldsmith's Retaliation.

2. School for Satire, 157.

3. Wreath, p. 9.

critical vivisectionist's saw, forceps, and sledge-hammer. *The Epistle to the Reviewers* is directed chiefly against the inefficiency and egotism of periodical criticism, but it involves incidentally several comments upon Peter's chief aversion, literary sentimentality. For example, after mention of Lord Carlisle's inability to buy fame of the reviewers, Pindar devoted to Miss Hannah More the Blue Stocking three quatrains which in style are typical of the whole poem:

"Could Gold succeed, enought the Peer might raise,

Whose wealth would buy the Critics o'er and o'er:

'Tis Merit only can command their praise;
Witness the volumes of Miss Hannah More:

"The *Search for Happiness*, that beauteous Song
Which all of us would give our ears to own;
The *Captive*, *Percy*, that, like mustard strong,
Make our eyes weep, and understandings groan.

"Hail, Bristol town! Boeotia now no more;
Since Garrick's Sappho sings, though rather slowly
All hail Miss Hannah! worth at least a score,
Ay, twenty score, of Chatterton and Rowley." 1.

Here Peter was acidulously sarcastic concerning the affectation of the finer feelings, a phase of unclassical emotionalism with which he was entirely out of sympathy. But he was not thoroughly discourteous and indecent, as in some of his later satires, and only a little less moderate in his expression than the gentler satirists of the decade, Goldsmith and Tickell. Seven years later, in *The Lousiad* (1785), he mentioned along with Cumberland's plays, Miss Burney's novels, and Miss Seward's poems, the

" .. Sacred Dramas of Miss Hannah More,
Where all the Nine with little Moses snore." 2.

Now that is by no means a complimentary couplet; on the other hand, it certainly is not insulting. When he came to write his *Elegy to Apollo* (1790), Peter was less courteous to sentimentalism:

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1. *Works of Peter Pindar*, I, 7.
2. Peter Pindar, I, 195.

"The man of words, of stilt-supported phrase,
The glistering Hayley scorns whate'er I write:
The Will-o'wisp of verse disdains my lays;
Tales, Odes, nor Lousiads, yield the least delight:

So *lofty*, yet in ware so *humble* dealing;
So *classically tasteless*; *big* with *nought*;
So *tender*, yet so *destitute of feeling*;
So *sentimental* too *without a thought*. " 1.

This is cutting a man off from all hope of merit of any sort. But Peter Pindar was to rise to still greater heights of condemnation. In *Nil Admirari* and *Expostulation* (1799) he waxed indecent in his mocking vituperation and his pitiless irony. The following is a representative anti-sentimental passage from *Expostulation*:

"Yet let me say, be done fair Justice too.--
Some damn *in toto* my *poor* thoughts and style;
The toothless gums of half the grave *Bas-bleu*
Watering, and *wondering* how the World can *smile*.

Urganda, with more *beard* than female grace
(If old Urganda has not learnt to *shave*),
Makes,at my name, most horrible grimace;
Screaming, 'I'd buy a *rope* to hang the knave.

'My dearest, sweetest, *panegyrist*, More,
Pray, pray oblige me with your flippant pen:
Lord! you have *so much* wit; yes, such a store!
Pray, Hannah, *cut* us *up* this worst of men.

'Oh, cut the fellow into mince-meat, pray!
Whene'er I hear his name, I'm in a *stew*:
He's worse than Johnson, ten times, let me say,
Who gave himself such airs on the *Bas-Bleu*.'" 2.

The other poem, *Nil Admirari*, was addressed to the Bishop of London, because Bishop Porteus had made "an hyperbolical eulogy on Miss Hannah More... in his late charge to the clergy". It is rather more cooly critical than *Expostulation*, and involves some cleverness of phrasing, especially in the way of pointing antitheses. A typical passage follows:

"With sighs I tell thee of Miss Hannah More,
A mighty genius in thy Charge display'd;

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1. Peter Pindar, II, 276.

2. Peter Pindar, IV, 282.

Know, I have search'd the Damsel o'er and o'er,
And only find Miss Hannah a good maid.

Oft by my touchstone have I tried the Lass,
And see no shining mark of Gold appear;
No, nor one beam of silver:--- some small brass,
And lead and glittering mundic, in thine ear.

A sorry Critic thou in Prose and Metre,
Or thou hadst judged her power a scanty Rill;
Which, if thou wilt believe the work of Peter,
Crawls at the bottom of th' Aonian hill.

Twice can't I read her labours, for my blood;
So simply mawkish, so sublimely sad:
I own Miss Hannah's Life is very good;
But then, her Verse and Prose are very bad.

No Muse e'er touch'd Miss Hannah's lips with fire;
No fountain hers of bright imagination:
So little doth a genuine Muse inspire,
That Genius will not own her a relation." 1.

¶George Crabbe was considerably more of a gentleman than Peter Pindar. Even he, however, arose in righteous wrath to satirize the sentimental poetry which was popular in the last quarter of the century. In The Newspaper (1785), he showed among other evils of journalism the folly of amateur bards who wrote verses for the Poets' Corners of newspapers and other periodicals, such as the Gentleman's Magazine. He describes in the following lines how a lax apprentice becomes a rhymester:

"A sudden couplet rushes on your mind;
Here you may nameless print your idle rhymes,
And read your first-born work a thousand times;
Th' infection spreads, your couplet grows apace,
Stanza's to Delia's dog or Celia's face:
You take a name; Philander's odes are seen,
Printed, and praised, in every magazine:
Diarian sages greet their brother sage,
And your dark pages please th' enlighten'd age.---
Alas! what years you thus consume in vain,
Ruled by this wretched bias of the brain.
Go! to your desks and counters all return;
Your sonnets scatter, your acrostics burn...
Of all the good that mortal men pursue,
The Muse has least to give, and gives to few." 2.

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1. Peter Pindar, IV, 261.
2. Crabbe, pp. 48-49.

This would have been a restrained passage for Peter Pindar; it was unusually impassioned for George Crabbe in his first period. And it is interesting because of its place in the series of satiric remarks upon sentimentalism. Tickell and the other satirists of the decade were, in general, not severe in their rebuke. Peter Pindar grew increasingly harsh in his criticism of the friends of sensibility. Crabbe's attitude is midway between gentle tolerance and that implacable hostility which characterized the attacks of the later satirists.

There were elements of literary satire in the work of the Whig wits of the Rolliad group, and particularly in their burlesque odes of candidates for the laureatship. Here one finds sentimentalism rebuked and ridiculed in a way which is indirect but effective. Among the *Probationary Odes* (1785), the most sentimental is the pseudo-Pindaric ode attributed to Dr. Joseph Warton. In gasping emotionality, it begins:

> O! for the breathings of the *Doric* *ote*!
> O! for the warblings of the Lesbian lyre!
> O! for th' Alcean trump's terrific note!
> O! for the Theban eagle's wing of fire!
> O! for each stop and string that swells th' Aonian quire!
> Then should this hallow'd day in *worthy strains be sung*,
> And with *due laurel wreaths* thy cradle, Brunswick, *hung*!
> But tho' uncouth my numbers flow
> ---From a rude reed,--
> That drank the dew of Isis' lowly mead,
> And *wild pipe*, fashion'd from the *embatted sedge*
> Which on the *twilight edge*
> Of my own Cherwell loves to grow:......" 1.

One of the prefatory "recommendatory testimonies", probably the work of Tickell, is an amusing burlesque of Hannah More's sentimental prose style; it is, in pretence, her epistolary account of an interview between Sir Joseph Mawbey and "Lactilla", the poetizing milk-woman of Bristol.[3] The sentimentalism is humorous but not sternly unkind.

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1. *Rolliad*, p. 332.
2. *Rolliad*, pp. 265-266. "Lactilla" was the author of *Poems on Several Occasions, by Anne Yearsley, a milkwoman of Bristol*, from which (3rd ed., London, 1785, p. 66 I take these specimen lines:

> "I dearly love to hear the ceaseless sound,
> When Noise and Nonsense are completely mix'd."

More of literary satire upon sentimentalism appears, however, in the *"New Probationary Odes"* published by Matthew Bramble (A. M'Donald) in 1790 than in the original series. Of the scant dozen odes he wrote less than half, and so it happens that the amusing ode in Della Cruscan style is by an unkown author. In this fairly good natured parody the typography is a part of the fun, as the prefatory note explains: "The candid reader will observe, that, according to the method adopted by this order of Poets, we have taken the liberty to print the passages of most *peculiar beauty* in a different type, that they may not be negligently overlooked." The burlesque conceits display a rather happy wit. A pleasant passage runs:

"What can escape thy rage, *oh Time*?
The Rose, the garden's *princely prime*,
That round its sweets so freely throws,
And give such transports to *the nose*,"

must die, for the "Catterpillar" kills it,

"And fearless of the Muse's snub,
Remorseless triumphs o'er the *martyr'd shrub*." [1]

Thereafter, in a gush of sweet sentiment, the poet recommends Della Crusca for the post of Poet Laureat. This is not ungentle satire, surely, yet it points plainly at the ridiculous aspects of the verse which it burlesques. Matthew Bramble's own odes are not always so polite. His three victims among the poets are William Mason, James Beattie, and Hayley, "the ladies' poet". Matthew is unkind to Hayley. First he makes him call thus upon the Muses:

"Aonian Maids, your airy zones unbind,
And sigh responsive to the sobbing wind,
Warton's great head, whence issu'd many an Ode,
Stript of its laurels, lies a lifeless clod."

Then Hayley declares that he still keeps up courage, though his plays are hooted from the stage,

"While still in my exhaustless brain
Embrios of thousand Odes remain,
Which heedfully I feed and foster,
Like maggots in a *Cheshire* old, or *Glo'ster*!"

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[1] *Works* of A. M'Donald, p. 80.

He resolves to fly to Windsor in hope of the laureatship:

"There sing each bank and balmy bow'r,
Ev'ry tree, and ev'ry tow'r;
Gales which, at the dawn of day,
Sweep the hovering mists away,"

daws for two lines, and violets for another pair,

"Ev'ry swine and suckling cow
With merry squeak and solemn low;
Goddesses that haunt the glades,
Guardians of the Royal shades;
To each my lyre so loyal shall be strung,
Nor Cloacine herself remain unsung." 1.

Matthew Bramble was not especially nice in his choice of terms in which to express his bad opinion of sentimentalism, but another imitator of Peter Pindar was even less so. When Anthony Pasquin warmed up to the subject, he used violent language about sensibility in drama and poetry. His judgments upon sentimentalism were, however, perceptibly milder in the first part of The Children of Thespis (1786) than in the third and last (1788). Indeed he declared in the first, in no doubtful terms, his admiration for Laurence Sterne:

"For rancourous Authorlings sink to Reviewers,
As channels neglected become common sewers:
Hence Folly to high estimation is rais'd,
Hence Sternes were bespatter'd, and Burneys be-prais'd:
They lacerate Wit from their cowardly stations,
And grub for a week, in -- a bed of carnations. 2.

He ridiculed "the dry namby-pamby of Cumberland's pen" but admitted in a footnote that The West Indian "is certainly a well written comedy." In the second part of The Children of Thespis (1787), Pasquin was more decided in his ill opinion of sentimentalism in the drama. His characterizations of two dramatists, a man and a woman, illustrate his abusive style of criticism. The first is an estimate of O'Keefe:

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1. Works of M'Donald, 97-99.
2. Poems by Anthony Pasquin, II, 23.

"Like the Anthropophagi, in each varied season,
He fattens, he feeds, on the bowels of Reason;
In terrible ruin she bleeds 'neath his knife,
A prey to his works, and abridg'd of her life;
By effect as they call it, by whim, and by pun,
Are our senses debauch'd, and, the drama undone;
Like the wondrous asbestos his toils we admire,
Whose labours surmount e'en the critical fire:
As the furnace the fossil-fraught drapery whitens,
So public contempt his capacity brightens:
But Harris' pence keep his follies in tune,
And Colman protects the unletter'd buffoon." 1.

And here are parts, not the worst lines, from his sketch of the author of the Simple Story:

"To mangle poor Decency's breathless remains;
To rob gentle Reason of all her domains;
To give the last blow to expiring Propriety;
To feed a base town with still baser variety---
See delicate Inchbald assume the foul quill;
And satirize Wisdom, by pleasing her will!
Tho' unskill'd in the true fabrication of tenses,
She tickles our weakness, and talks to the senses;
For Venus is titt'ring, and Priapus smiles,
As the Queen of Voluptuousness Nature beguiles....
Contemptuously treating the feminine duties,
Her breast lacks the cambric to cover its beauties...
With the pages of Sappho her cranium she dresses,
While her smock goes unwash'd, and abandon'd her tresses
Thus her mind, like clear amber, condens'd by stagnation,
Exhibits the dirt it imbib'd in formation." 2.

Here Bramble is criticizing other, and more distinctly romantic, tendencies, in addition to sentimentalism. When he attacked the sentimental poets, he found fault with them for an artificiality which he attributed not to any new notions but to uninspired adherence to the regular forms. In his general condemnation of poor poetry, he confused the Della Cruscan rhymers with the Blue Stockings, conceiving, perhaps, that it would be all one a hundred years thence:

"We have Greatheads and Yearsleys, and Sewards, and Mores,
Who rave with Cimmerian influence by scores;
A Beotian husk, for such faculties fit,
Enfolds their indeas and cases their wit;

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1. Pasquin, II, 147.
2. Pasquin, II, 157.

Who count their minc'd periods, as misers count pence,
And first think of harmony, then -- think of sense;
Who have glean'd fertile *Byche* of all good he can field,
As the poor of the hamlet strip Ceres' rich field;
Who coldly correct, have accomplish'd their ends,
By the dull visitation of classical friends;
Tho' no grain of rich ore gives true worth to the mine,
Tho' no feature of Genius illumines a line;
Who fine-draw the delicate theme from the head,
And toil at the texture, and rhime themselves dead;
But such phrase-habardashers and epithet finders,
Are not poets innate, but mere Poetry-grinders." 1.

A more polite arraignment of the Della Cruscan sentimentalism was Southey's in *The Amatory Poems of Abel Shufflebottom*, a series of eight parodies in the style of the poets of the *World*. A typical quatrain is:

"Cease, ere my senses are to madness driven
By the strong joy! Cease, Delia, lest my soul,
Enrapt, already THINK ITSELF IN HEAVEN
And burst the feeble Body's frail controul." 2.

An exceptional satire in the series was *The Children of Apollo* (1794), a piece of rhymed criticism upon all the contemporary dramatists. It does not entirely lack forceful expression of critical opinion, but the opinion is based on sentimental principles and is, on the whole, anti-classical. For example, the poet thus encourages "Della Crusca" to attempt tragedy instead of comedy:

"As then your lays are to the soft inclin'd,
Oh! why attempt those of the comic kind?
As in the plaintive you're surpassing very,
Oh *Merry*, *Merry*, wherefore *art* thou *Merry*?" 3.

He disapproves of the unities:

"Macklin, the father of the drama, hail!
Man of *the world*, 'tis thou that must prevail;
Thy piece contains true wit and satire too,
But wants variety to please a few;--
For tho' with reason ancient critics did,
The common change of scenery forbid,
Yet now we find 'tis of the greatest need,
And few the pieces otherwise succeed;
There is a sameness if there be not some,
For no variety can be *at home*." 4.

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1. Pasquin, II, 250.
2. *The Poetical Works of Robert Southey* (London, 1866), p. 115.
3. *The Children of Apollo*: a Poem....(London, n.d.), p. 27
4. *Children of Apollo*. p. 59.

He finds fault with the *School for Scandal* on grounds of "sensibility":

> "The *School for Scandal* is a piece possest
> Of ev'ry good ingredient but the best;
> The plot, the characters demand applause,
> But where's the moral? - that must give us a pause." [1]

And on similar grounds he praises Mrs. Inchbald:

> "With humour, void of ev'ry vulgar cant,
> With jokes, which the O'Keeffian tag-rag want;
> With sentiments, e'en Cumberland's beyond,
> And characters of which the town are fond,
> Her plays abound." [2]

The author of *The Children of Apollo* was clearly a sentimentalist.

The two satirists who were conservative in their judgments in general resemble the author of *The Children of Apollo* in being inclined to favor sentimentalism. One was Mathias, who has been commonly considered a typically classical satirist. In *The Pursuits of Literature* and in *The Shade of Alexander Pope* (1799), he declared his admiration for such moral authoresses as Mrs. Hannah More, Mrs. Carter, Mars. Charlotte Smith, and Mrs. Radcliffe. Likewise his imitator, the Rev. Mr. Polwhele, expressed a liking for moral sentimentalism in his satire, *The Unsex'd Females* (1798). His poem is, as one might not expect from its title, in large part an appreciative survey of the literary achievement of the principal woman writers of the decade, Mrs. Carter, Mrs. Montagu, Mrs. Charlotte Smith, Hannah More, and Mrs. Radcliffe. Indeed his praise of Mrs. Anne Radcliffe is extravagantly romantic: "In her *Mysteries of Udolpho* we have all that is wild, magnificent and beautiful, combined by the genius of Shakspeare and the taste of Milton."[3] With much less justification, he lauds Hayley: "In copiousness of expression, he is vastly superior to Pope."[4] But kindly judgments were happily rare indeed; sentimentalism had commonly but a short shrift at the hands of such executioners as the typical satirists of the latter days of the eighteenth century.

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1. *Children of Apollo*, P. 39
2. *Children of Apollo*, p. 35. The satirist objects to her translating from French and German.
3. *Unsex'd Females*, p. 34. The title Polwhele derived from Mathias' mention of "our unsexed female writers" in the preface to the fourth dialogue of *The Pursuits of Literature*. *Pursuits* (Philadelphia, 1800), p. 204.

4.(Cont'd) Unsex'd Females, p. 34. The satirist praised also Darwin, and was in general a poor judge of poetry.

Toward the close of the century, sentimentalism became so closely associated with those literary elements which are commonly grouped under the name of romanticism that it is no longer easy to discuss it separately. Satirists sometimes attacked in one and the same author sentimentalism and romantic rebellion against social and moral restraints, and in the drama, in particular, the question of emotional tone became inextricably confused with that of regularity of form. There is one more satirist, however, who was primarily an enemy to sentimentality and only incidentally, in his two formal satires, an arch foe of all radicalism. This man was William Gifford.

Gifford's satirical poems, The Baviad (1794) and The Maeviad (1795), were in intention imitations of the ancient masterpieces, with rather more of the spirit of Juvenal than of Horace or Persius. Of English satirists, he seems to have followed especially Pope and Dryden. A quatrain will serve to illustrate his copying of the antithetical style of the former:

> "O, for thy spirit, Pope! Yet why? My lays,
> That wake no envy, and invite no praise,
> Half-creeping, and half-flying, yet suffice
> To stagger impudence, and ruffle vice." [1]

The evidence of Dryden's influence is not so clear; it is a matter rather of vigorous spirit than of specific mechanical details of style. Yet it is certain that the weight of his English predecessors was strong upon Gifford as he wrote his satires; even his titles, though they are derived from the names of dull poets of the age of Augustus, he may as well have taken from neo-classical as from ancient sources.[2] But his was a truly Juvenalian conception of the func-

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[1] Baviad and Maeviad, p. 11; The Maeviad, ll. 212-216.

[2] In 1688 there appeared in London a pasquinade entitled To Poet Bavius: occasion'd by his Satyr he writ in his verses to the King upon the Queen's being delivered of a son. Boileau mentions Bavius and Maevius in the Lutrin; see Boileau's Lutrin: a Mock Heroic Poem in six canto's, tr. by N. Rowe (London, 1708) p. 95. Bavius is referred to in the Third Book of The Dunciad, lines 16, 38 and 315, and to him is devoted a long note of Scriblerus, with quotations from Vergil and John Dennis concerning him (The Dunciad, Variorum. With the Prolegomena of Scriblerus. London, 1729, p. 55). In 1730-1731, The Grub-street Journal was edited by two physicians under the names of Bavius and Maevius" and which

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for some time enlivened the town with the excellent design of ridiculing silly authors and stupid critis." - *Curiosities of Literature* (Boston, 1859), III 257. The chief classical references to Bavius and Maevius are Vergil's *Eclogues*, III, 90 V, 36; and Horace's *Epode*, X, which consists of a series of illwishes for Maevius.

tion of satire.[1]

The Baviad, best known of all the satires of the time, is a free paraphrase of the first of Persius in three hundred and sixty-one heavily annotated lines. The prime objects of the attack are the sentimental rhymesters who followed in the train of that somewhat indecorous dilletante, Robert Merry. His pseudonym, assumed because he was actually a member of the Accademia della Crusca in Florence, gave the name of Della Cruscans to the tribe of his admirers. Among their number was Madame Piozzi; probably it was because of her that Gifford happened to satirize incidentally James Boswell and the Blue Stockings. Merry himself was a dramatist; hence the self-appointed censor cast his awful glance upon other romantic dramatists. The Maeviad is fifty lines longer and even more thoroughly supplied with notes, in which the satirist quoted Della Cruscan poems by way of evidence in support of the strong assertions which he made in the text. It is like its predecessor in being directed against the sentimental poets, but its attack is especially against their efforts as dramatists.

Gifford was a classical believer in the doctrine that poetry has a double function, to please and to instruct. And he thought that instruction ought to be in the narrow way of conventional morality. One chief fault with the sentimental poetry was, in his opinion, that it had a certain free tendency away from the commonly accepted religious and ethical standards. Of "Perdita" Robinson, one of Merry's friends, he wrote,

"See Robinson forget her state, and move
On crutches tow'rds the grave, to 'Light o' Love'". 2.

At another place he described indecently the "lascivious odes" of grandams.[3]

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1. "To raise a laugh.... is not the legitimate function of Satire, which is to hold up the vicious, as objects of reprobation and scorn, for the example of others, who may be deterred by their sufferings." - Essay on the Roman Satirists, as reprinted in The Satires of Juvenal, Persius, Sulpicia, and Lucilius, tr. by L. Evans (London, 1890), p. xxi.

2. Baviad and Maeviad, p. 10. To this couplet Peter Pindar replied by remarks upon Gifford's hunched back.

3. Baviad, p. 49.

Most morally, he quoted with disgust a blasphemous passage from a poem which Merry addressed to Mrs. Robinson.[1]

Nevertheless Gifford's satirical ciriticism was aesthetic as well as ethical. Upon this second line his two chief objects of attack were the unnatural, overdecorated diction and the unjustified emotionality of his enemies' "splay-foot madrigals". Thus he characterized the poetry of Della Crusca himself:

"Abortive thoughts that right and wrong confound,
Truth sacrific'd to letters, sense to sound,
False glare, incongruous images, combine;
And noise, and nonsense, clatter through the line." 2.

A year later, in the Maeviad, he said the same thing in other words:

"He taught us first the language to refine,
To crowd with beauties every sparkling line;
Old phrases with new meanings to dispense,
Amuse the fancy, and --- confound the sense." 3.

Especially he deprecated the revival of old words, and he traced it to its source, interest in the middle ages and especially in English literature of the early Renaissance. He quoted in derision as evidence of "BLACK LETTER mania" the record of Kemble's purchase of four early Elizabethan plays. And he ascribed to the influence of this mania the jargon of sentimental poetry:

"This motley fustian, neither verse nor prose,
This old, new, language that defiles our page;
The refuse and the scum of every age." 4.

He laments the good old days of classic simplicity, when everything was natural, even language:

"Now all is changed! We fume and fret, poor elves;
Less to display our subject, than ourselves;
Whate'er we paint---a grot, a flow'r, a bird,
Heavens! how we sweat, laboriously absurd!
Words of gigantic bulk, and uncouth sound,
In rattling triads the long sentence bound;
While points with points, with periods periods jar,
And the whole work seems one continued war!" 5.

1. Baviad, pp. 26-28.
2. Baviad, pp. 15-16.
3. Baviad, pp. 86-87.
4. Baviad, p. 36.
5. Baviad, p. 38.

This logomachy was bad enough; but in the Della Cruscan poetry there was even worse departure from the classic realms of Common Sense. More abhorrent to Gifford than meaningless rant was the mawkish, sentimental gush which he rebuked in such couplets as:

"See snivelling Jerningham at fifty weep
O'er love-lorn oxen and deserted sheep." 1.

Thus William Gifford in heavy heroic couplets and convincing notes arraigned the sentimental nonsense which was then rife in the world of English letters. He wrote forcefully, if not with easy grace. Moreover, his attack seems to have had the practical effect of weakening the vogue of

"Verse that like Maria's flows,
"No rubs to stagger, and no sense to pose;
Which read, and read, you raise your eyes in doubt,
And gravely wonder what it is about." 2.

Sentimentality persisted, however, in combination with romanticism in its more characteristic aspects. Canning's description of Sensibility in New Morality (1798) at once marks the culmination of satire's attack upon the literary manifestations of that peculiar quality and indicates the close connection between it and romanticism proper.

"Sweet SENSIBILITY, who dwells enshrined
In the fine foldings of the feeling mind;
With delicate Mimosa's sense endued,
Who shrinks instinctive from a hand too rude;
Or, like the Anagallis, prescient flower,
Shuts her soft petals at the approaching shower.

Sweet child of sickly Fancy!--her of yore
From her loved France Rousseau to exile bore;
And, while 'midst lakes and mountains wild he ran,
Full of himself, and shunn'd the haunts of man,
Taught her o'er each lone vale and Alpine steep
To lisp the story of his wrongs, and weep;
Taught her to cherish still in either eye,
Of tender tears a plentiful supply,
And pour them in the brooks that babbled by;
Taught by nice scale to mete her feelings strong,
False by degrees and exquisitely wrong;

1. Baviad, p. 10.
2. Baviad, p. 31.

For the crush'd beetle, first, -- the widow'd dove,
And all the warbled sorrows of the grove;
Next for poor suff'ring Guilt; and last of all,
For parents, friends, a king and country's fall.

Mark her fair votaries, prodigal of grief,
With cureless pangs, and woes that mock relief,
Droop in soft sorrow o'er a faded flower;
O'er a dead Jackass pour the pearly shower;" 1.

but hear, unmoved, of the horrors of the French Revolution! Here sentimentalism is linked with the return to Nature and the individualism which are distinctly romantic.

Satire was considerably more hostile to sentimentalism, which is artificial, than to romanticism, which is natural. In the early years of our period, a few satirists actually voiced something of the reaction against classical formalism. Chatterton unhesitatingly declared the superiority of poetic Inspiration over the Rules. Of a poor judge of poetry, he wrote:

"In Aristotle's scale the Muse he weighs
And damps her little fire with copied lays!" 2.

Evidently he was no believer in the efficacy of imitating the Ancients. Likewise there is sound criticism, romantic in kind, in this passage:

"Hail, Inspiration! whose mysterious wings
Are strangers to what rigid Johnson sings;
By him thy airy voyages are curbed,
Nor moping wisdom's by thy flight disturbed;
To ancient lore and musty precepts bound,
Thou are forbid the range of fairy ground." 3.

Though Chatterton thus expressed romantic notions in satire in 1770, his work was quite without influence upon the history of satire; indeed Kew Gardens, his longest satirical poem, was not published until he had been dead more than half a century.

William Cowper was another poet who asserted the essential weakness

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1. Edmonds, pp. 275-276; New Morality, ll. 119-144. Hannah More's poem called Sensibility is interesting for contrast with this opinion.
2. Chatterton, I, 189; Happiness.
3. Chatterton, I, 147; Kew Gardens, first published in 1837.

of imitative verse and its inferiority to the poetry of inspiration. Though frequently he judged literary works by an ethical standard, condemning those which seemed likely to have immoral influence, literature was for him not merely a medium for moral instruction by precept and example. Of the aesthetic values in poetry, in particular, he had definite opinions to announce. These appear chiefly in Table Talk (1782) and in the fourth book, Winter Evening, of The Task (1785). In general, he showed a dislike for formalism and mechanical imitation, reverence for genius among ancients and moderns, and especial love for poets who were lovers of Nature. In the following passage, he shows his preference for natural complex rhythms over the mechanical iambics which were the fashion of the imitative school:

> "Give me the line that ploughs its stately course,
> Like a proud swan, conquering the stream by force;
> That, like some cottage beauty, strikes the heart,
> Quite unindebted to the tricks of art."

He goes on to say that when Labor and Dulness beat time in

> "The clockwork tintinnabulum of rhyme,
> Exact and regular the sounds will be,
> But such mere quarter-strokes are not for me." 1.

The great defect of the poetry of his day seemed to Cowper to be its artificiality:

> "From him who rears a poem lank and long,
> To him who strains his all into a song, ...
> Manner is all in all, whate'er is writ,
> The substitute for genius, sense, and wit." 2.

And Pope is to blame, who, "as harmony itself exact",

> "Made poetry a mere mechanic art,
> And every warbler has his tune by heart."

Yet there is still some hope for English poetry. Some originality even now redeems the moderns from disgrace:

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1. Poetical Works of William Cowper (London, 1896), p. 26.

2. Cowper, p. 27.

"While servile trick and imitative knack
Confine the million to the beaten track,
Perhaps some courser who disdains the road,
Snuffs up the wind and flings himself abroad." 1.

His belief in the mystic nature of the inspiration to high poetry, Cowper set forth in the three pages of Table Talk concerning the history of poetry. But here his doctrine is not unclassical. He glorifies the great epic poets, Homer, Vergil, and Milton:

"Thus genius rose and set at ordered times,
And shot a dayspring into distant climes."

He sees genius of a lower order in the great lyrists, and eminent worth in the orderly decorum maintained by satirists in the age of Anne.[2.] In the Winter Evening, where he strikingly praises among the poets "Sidney, warbler of poetic prose," he expresses his love for Nature and poetry concerning Nature. Especially, he declares his admiration of Milton and Cowley. Of the verses which he read in his youth, he says,

"No bard could please me but whose lyre was tuned
To Nature's praises." 3.

It is worthy of observation that Cowper set forth ideas in opposition to neo-classical formalism less vigorously, if more at length, than did Chatterton a dozen years earlier. He was decidedly distrustful of some phases of romanticism.

A third poet who rebelled against the pseudo-classic necessity of

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1. Cowper, p. 31. As an instance of poetic gift among his acquaintances, he cites Churchill:

"If brighter beams than all he threw not forth,
'Twas negligence in him, not want of worth.
Surly and slovenly, and bold and coarse,
Too proud for art, and trusting in mere force,
Spendthrift alike of money and of wit,
Always at speed, and never drawing bit,"

he struck the lyre carelessly, disdaining the rules he understood, and snatched the laurel rudely from the Muse's hand.

2. Cowper, p. 30.

3. Cowper, II, 120, 121.

imitating the ancients was James Woodhouse. Like Chatterton, he too expressed his opinions in a satirical poem which has had no influence upon the work of later satirists. His "Lucubrations of Crispinus Scriblerus, a Novel in Verse", is an autobiographical poem which he wrote in his old age, probably about 1800; it was published first in 1896, occupying considerably more than half the space in the two folio volumes of his works. It should be considered, however, in connection with the literary history of the age of Johnson, for it consists largely of satirical comment upon literary people and ideas of that time. Woodhouse, even more vigorously than Chatterton, expresses his conviction that it is absurd to try to make poems by rule, in spite of the popular opinion that no matter what animal a man's mind resembles he can, by proper study and plodding,

> "All pure poetic cleverly acquire,
> Without one spark infus'd of heavenly fire!" 1.

This cord-wainer poet, who commenced his literary career when the revival of interest in the country and the common people was just beginning, analyzes thus the critical position of eighteenth century classicism with regard to poetry:

> "'Twas then supposed no clown could thrum a verse,
> So soft--smooth--simple--solid--strong and terse,
> Fit for sheer fools in male or female shape--
> Much less learn'd critics' keen remarks to scape.
> None could bind couplets--stanzas twist, and bend,
> Figures, and tropes, at tongue's and finger's end,
> But those that folios, learn'd, could frequent thumb,
> Whose titles strike rude English readers dumb.
> None without Latin stilts could stalk sublime,
> In bold blank verse--or more elaborate rhyme,
> None chaunt choice strains but Horace' Art must prune
> Confin'd, by modern scale, to time and tune;
> Or clearly comprehend rhyme's perfect scope
> By keen Roscommon, or mellifluous Pope--
> None gain Parnassus' heights, with poet's gait,
> But Virgil construe, and could well translate;
> Or Pegasus with whip and rowels ride,
> Except old Homer's epics pois'd each side--

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1. The Life and Poetical Works of James Woodhouse (1735-1820) ed. Rev. R. I. Woodhouse (London, 1896), II, 70.

Ne'er sit secure, and prance in rapid ode,
Till often train'd in rough Pindaric road;
No Bacchanalian song or sonnet boast,
Unless Anacreon learn to sing, and toast--
In amorous lays ne'er Love's clear language claim
Till fir'd with Sappho's fond consuming flame;
Nor in her slippery sandals learn to dance,
Till taught her stagg'ring step, and glowing glance." 1

Here the significant line is
"None without Latin stilts could stalk sublime."

Though his practice was conventional enough, James Woodhouse's poetical theories were plainly ~~/~~of independent, romantic sort. He had little of the conservatism of his contemporary, George Crabbe.

But even Crabbe is sufficiently rebellious under the classical restraints to see no reason for imitating Vergil's Bucolics in descriptive and narrative poems concerning rural Britain. In The Village (1783), he voiced a spirit of rebellion against false literary conventions. In the introductory section of that poem, he declared his aversion to the traditional unrealistic pastoral poetry and his determination not to represent Arcadian happiness but to show in all its misery the actual peasant life of eighteenth century England. Of the swains of modish pastoral poetry, he remarks:

"They boast their peasants' pipes; but peasants now
Resign their pipes and plod behind the plow."

Thus, choosing his words for directness and force rather than for smooth beauty, Crabbe set up realism in opposition to poetical conventionality. He says that real peasants would not try to be lyric poets, and he gives his reason:

"Save honest Duck, what sons of verse would share
The poet's rapture, and the peasant's care?
Or the great labours of the field degrade,
With the new peril of a poorer trade?" 2.

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1. Woodhouse, I, 69.
2. Poetical Works of George Crabbe, ed. A.J.Carlyle and R.M. Carlyle (London, 1908), p. 34. Stephen Duck the thresher wrote heavy and pious verses which were not bad for a farmhand. Crabbe evidently was not acquainted with Mrs. Montagu's protege, James Woodhouse. That shoemaker poet compares his own career to that of the thresher:

"'Twas long since Duck had threshed his harvest out
And since his day no rustic had been seen
Who sung so deftly on the daisied green!"
--Woodhouse, I, 69.

In a sternly unimaginative way, then, Crabbe objected with photographic logic to the artificiality which characterized much descriptive poetry of the age which preceded his own. His models were not the ancients, but unfortunate, downtrodden moderns:

"By such examples taught, I paint the cot,
As Truth will paint it, and as bards will not." 1.

Just as there were anti-classical tendencies in the satirists' comments upon poetry, so there were, in the early years of our period, indications of romantic theory in satirical criticisms of the drama. Again we turn first to Chatterton's Kew Gardens, where we find these lines concerning Dr. Johnson's perfect tragedy:

"Irene creeps so classical and dry,
None but a Greek philosopher can cry;
Through five long acts unlettered heroes sleep,
And critics by the square of learning weep." 2.

It is interesting to see the Unities condemned, even though they were not among the rigid rules of English neo-classicism of the eighteenth century. Another satirist surpassed Chatterton in the thoroughness of his rejection of classical laws for dramatic composition. The author of Shakespeare: an Epistle to D. Garrick, Esq. glorifies Shakespeare and natural Genius:

"When Shakespeare leads the mind a dance,
From France to England, hence to France,
Talk not to me of Time and Place;
I own I'm happy in the Chace.

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1. Crabbe, p. 35. Anstey in the appendix to The Patriot expresses Crabbe-like opinions of the artificiality of English literature in the age of Johnson. In a passage which is reminiscent of some of the best irony in the Citizen of the World, the publisher invites the poet to dinner:

"I've some very good company dine here to-day;
There's a pastoral poet from Leadenhall-street,
And a liberty-writer just come from the Fleet;
With a clever young fellow, that's making an index,
Who, perhaps, may assist you to write an Appendix;
And a taylor, up three pair of stairs in the Mews,
Who does the political jobs for the news,
And works now and then for the critic reviews."
-Anstey, pp. 181-182.

2. Chatterton, I, 147.

Whether the drama's here or there,
'Tis Nature, Shakespeare every where...

True Genius, like Armida's wand,
Can raise the spring from barren land.
While all the art of imitation,
Is pilfering from the first creation." 1.

Incidentally demonstrating that the rules of dramatic composition which came to England from France were still adhered to by critics if not by dramatists, he proceeds to remark upon the absurdities of opinions opposite to his own:

"Yet those who breathe the Classic vein,
Enlisted in the mimic train,...
Not run away with by their wit,
Delighted with the pomp of Rules,
The specious pedantry of schools;
(Which Rules, like crutches, ne'er became
Of any use but to the lame)
Pursue the method set before 'em,
Talk much of Order and Decorum,
Of probability of fiction,
Of manners, ornament, and diction,
And with a jargon of hard names,
(A privilege which Dulness claims)
And merely us'd by way of fence,
To keep out plain and common sense,
Extol the wit of ancient days,
The simple fabric of their plays;
Then from the fable, all so chaste,
Trick'd up in antient-modern taste,..
While Chorus marks the servile mode
With fine reflexion, in an ode,
Present you with a perfect piece,
Form'd on the model of old Greece." 2.

And he boldly carries the war into the enemy's country when he explains the classical dramatists' need for Chorus and for explanatory "prologues of a mile":

"Doubtless the Antients want the art
To strike at once upon the heart."

By way of contrast, he characterizes Shakespeare,

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1. Miscellaneous and Fugitive Pieces, second edition (London, 1774), II, 344. Of course I do not mean to say that rejection of the unities was unusual, but it does signify a kindness of attitude toward romanticism that disappeared from satire as the romantic movement gained strength. The allusion to Tasso in this passage is indicative of another phase of romantic interest.

2. Miscellaneous and Fugitive Pieces, II, 345.

"the bard, who at one view,
Could look the whole Creation through,
Who travers'd all the human heart,
Without recourse to Grecian art.
He scorn'd the modes of imitation,
Of altering, pilfering, and translation,
Nor painted horror, grief, or rage,
From models of a former age;
The bright original he took,
And tore the leaf from Nature's book." [1]

The most conspicuous satire upon dramatic writing in those days was The Theatres: A Poetical Dissection (1772), by "Sir Nicholas Nipclose", who may have been David Garrick. Since most of the plays of the period were examples of the "drama of sensibility"[2], this poem directed its satirical shafts chiefly against the anti-classical tendency. Yet it contained this rebellious criticism of the literary dictator:

"JOHNSON, that huge Leviathan of wit,
Made once a turgid, tasteless tragic hit;
Told a soft tale in such laborious strains,
As damn'd the fair Irene for his pains.
A literary warehouse, well supply'd
With learning's lore, and not a little pride;
Who, in his own opinion, sits supreme,
Whatever style he takes, whatever theme;
Who never yet his own applause has miss'd,
Poet, philosopher, philologist." [3]

This passage illustrates not only disapproval of the classic style in dramatic writing but also, what was less common in satire, the romantic tendency to distrust accepted critical authority.[4] Another instance is afforded by Warley, a Satire (London, 1778) in which the Rev. George Huddesford,[5] a typical political satirist, incidentally took up the cudgels for Joseph Warton's Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope (1757). Warton's estimate of Pope had been adversely criticized by the Rev. Percival

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1. Miscellaneous and Fugitive Pieces, p. 346.
2. "In the five years ending with 1772, sentimentalism had met with little opposition in either dramatic or non-dramatic literature." - Bernbaum, E., The Drama of Sensibility (Boston, 1915), p. 242.
3. The Theatres: A Poetical Dissection. By Sir Nicholas Nipclose, Baronet (London, 1772), p. 30.
4. There was an unliterary reason, however, for satirizing Doctor Johnson. Professional writing of all sorts was inseparably connected with politics. A Tory wrote not only Tory pamphlets, but Tory poems, plays, and novels, which, other

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things being equal, Tory reviewers like and Whig reviewers despised. On that score, Samuel Johnson came to be a conveient butt for random shafts of almost every satirist from Churchill down to Peter Pindar. On the other hand, some of his friends rallied to his defence; see for example *The Remonstrance* (London, 1770), which was probably the work of the Rev. Percival Stockdale, if Boswell is to be relied upon (Life of Johnson, I, 409).

5. Huddesford wrote political satires for more than twenty years. His first success was with Warley, which appeared in two parts in the year of combe's *Diaboliad* (1778).

Stockdale[1] in An Enquiry into the Nature and Genius of Mr. Pope (London, 1778). In a style that is half-Pope, with a dash of Anstey, Huddesford pillories his victim as follows:

> "True Genius subsides at this desperate crisis,
> The Philistines prevail o'er the Triumph of Isis;
> From the regions of Dulness uprisen again is,
> The inveterate ghost of Col. Cibber or Dennis;
> The whole tribe of fools, who the Dunciad compose,
> Breath vengeance again in poor Percival's prose.
> Poor Percival Stockdale! who (dreadful to think on),
> In Styx drench'd his goosequil instead of an inkhorn;
> With the fumes of the lake his mad brain overlaid,
> Like Curl with the Cates of Corinna bewray'd;
> With critical Jaundice envelop'd his mind,
> And sightless himself, swears that Warton is blind." 2.

In prose, the satirist's criticism amounts to this: Pope it was well to admire as a master artisan and a source of amusing ideas, but one ought not to quarrel with Joseph Warton for showing that Pope was not infallible. A mild departure from critical orthodoxy, to be sure, but more forceful than any which appeared in signicant English satires during the next three decades.

Peter Pindar in the ponderous irony of his Epistle to the Reviewers (1778) announced in a general way his contempt for regular criticism. But though he was sufficiently a romantic to prefer Longinus to Aristotle, he rather belittled the power of the reviewers than denied the truth of the standards by which they judged:

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1. Stockdale (1736-1811) was a poetaster and hack writer, befriended by Garrick and Johnson. His partly satirical poem, The Poet (1773) seems to have been widely read. He was well enough known to be proposed for editorship of that edition of the English poets of which Johnson was at last the editor and to which he contributed his Lives of the Poets. For a pious and inflated account of the details of the Rev. Mr. Stockdale's career, see his Memoirs (London, 1809); this autobiography contains (vol. II, pp. 116-122) an account of the origin and fame of the Enquiry.
2. The Second Part of Warley: a Satire (London, 1778), pp. 13-14. For an account of T. Warton's Triumphs of Isis, see Chapter I ante. Huddesford's characterization of Stockdale's prose as a source of ennui proves his good taste.

"The fam'd Longinus all the world must know,
The gape of wonder Aristarchus drew,
As well as Alexander's tutor, lo!
All, all great Critics, Gentlemen, like _you_." 1.

Peter was a man of artistic taste, if of little refinement, rather than a scholarly thinker. His native hatred of artificiality made him dislike both sentimentality and mechanical formalism, but except for announcing his distrust of the reliability of regular criticism, he took no outspoken part in the literary reaction against classicism.

We have seen that several satirists expressed critical ideas of anti-classical sort during the two decades immediately following the death of Churchill, but that such pronouncements became fewer and less vigorous as the years passed.[2] Chatterton was a romanticist in 1770; Cowper and Crabbe in 1785 pointed at some of the weaknesses of classical formalism, but were unwilling to ally themselves with the opposite school. Among the poets who attacked the new tendencies, there was an increase of conservatism comparable to that which appears in the growing reticence of literary satirists who were to some extent in sympathy with the romantic movement.

Doctor Samuel Johnson, as one might expect, disliked romanticism

1. Peter Pindar, I, 5.
2. _An Anonymous Epistle in Rhyme to M.G. Lewis, Esq_.....(London, 1798), was an exceptional satire in that it had praise for so thorough-going a romantic as "Monk" Lewis. The poet defends Lewis from charges of immorality, and praises him for having taken

"From dark Teutonic lore, terrific grace;
An easy stile from Gallia's lively race."

He admires especially his ability to describe in convincing fashion wild and romantic scenes:

"On desert cliffs, I hear the raven's scream,
And mark the wat'ry moon's uncertain gleam:
'Tis thine to strike, with no inglorious hand,
The chords that whilom echoed through the land;
When erst, at feudal grandeur's princely call,
The minstrel's song was heard in Gothic hall."

Yet, though he liked Lewis, he had nothing of praise for other romanticists, with the interesting exception of Mrs. Radcliffe.

whether it was accompanied by attendant evils or not. He wrote several pieces of burlesque verse in mockery of the ballad style, and he wrote one short piece of formal literary satire. When "a well known author" published his poems in 1777, Johnson found them unpleasantly romantic, and he expressed his displeasure in the verses which he showed to Mrs. Thrale with this comment: "Here are some lines I have written to ridicule them: but remember that I love the fellow dearly, now --- for all that I laugh at him."[1] The author ridiculed was probably Thomas Warton, whose poems were published in a collected edition in that year.[2] Here are Johnson's critical lines:

"Wheresoe'er I turn my view,
All is strange, yet nothing new;
Endless labour all along,
Endless labour to be wrong;
Phrase that time has flung away;
Uncouth words in disarray,
Trick'd in antique ruff and bonnet,
Ode and elegy and sonnet." 2.

His objections are mainly to the poet's use of archaic diction, and the style is not particularly harsh. Here is none of the ponderous condemnation of London or The Vanity of Human Wishes, or of the anti-romantic satires of the last decade of the eighteenth century. And the mild tone of this little piece is typical of that of all literary satire in its decade. In general, also, satirists were less violently opposed to romanticism itself than to literary work in which it appeared along with sentimentalism or political and social radicalism.

The case of Macpherson was distinctly of the former kind. He was a Scotch Tory, writing for the party in power, but his Ossianic poems were a driven well bubbling and gurgling with sentiment. The earliest satirical comments concerning him, however, treated of the outlandishness of his material

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1. Rinaker, Clarissa. Thomas Warton, A Biographical and Critical Study (Urbana, 1916), p. 140. cf. Birkbeck Hill's edition of Boswell's Johnson, III, 158 n.
2. Anecdotes of the late Dr. Samuel Johnson, by Hester Lynch Piozzi (London, 1786), p. 64.

and the doubtful antiquity of its dress. Here, for example, is the longest of several passages devoted to him by Mason:

"Yet what are pensions to the praise
Wrapt up in Caledonian lays?
Say, Johnson! where had been Fingal,
But for Macpherson's great assistance?
The chieftain had been nought at all,
A non-existing non-existence.
Mac, like a poet stout and good,
First plung'd, then pluck'd him from oblivion's flood,
And bad him bluster at his ease,
Among the fruitful Hebrides.
A common poet can revive
The man who once has been alive:
But Mac revives by magic power,
The man who never liv'd before." 1.

In one of the anonymous satires on the American Revolution, A New Scheme To Raise a New Corps, a ballad-writing humorist suggested that the loss of the Scotch Militia could be supplied by raising and equipping a brigade of orang-outangs:

"And as their jabbering smacks of Erse,
Let them recite MAC OSSIAN'S verse,
To fire their souls to glory." 2.

Another satirical glance at Macpherson as a Scotch adherent to the party which provoked and prosecuted the American War was an American production, Trumbull's M'Fingal (1776 and 1782). The fact of the derivation of the title of the mock-epic from the name of Ossian's hero is proved by a note to the effect that Old Fingal spelled the name with a Mac,

"Which great M'Pherson, with submission
We hope will add, the next edition." 3.

A little later, the author of a "probationary ode" for John Wilkes ridiculed Macpherson's

" lofty epic roar,
Barren and rough as his own native shore." 4.

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1. New Foundling Hospital, II, 49-51; Ode to Pinchbeck (1776), ll. 49-60.
2. New Foundling Hospital, II, 96. The author of this ballad wrote also, among other pieces, Lord Chatham's Prophecy.
3. M'Fingal: an epic poem by John Trumbull, ed. B.J.Lossing (New York, 1881), p.16.
4. Miscellaneous Works of A. M'Donald (London, 1791), P. 88.

By far the most remarkable literary satire upon Macpherson was one of the original Probationary Odes, written by John Ellis. Though not comparable in violence to Lord Thurlow's ode, where six d-mns appear in five lines, this represents the literary satire of the Rolliad group at its best. The political content of this parody is only typical, though more wittily managed than in some of the others. The mockery of the Ossianic style is the happiest quality of the piece; it is not quite true to the original, however, in that the descriptive words actually do arouse images in the mind of the reader. The satire brings out so plainly the sentimental affectation of the Ossianic rhythms dear to young Werther that it seems justifiable to quote it all.

DUAN.
In the True Ossian Sublimity.
By Mr. Macpherson.

"Does the wind touch thee, O Harp?
Or is it some passing Ghost?
Is it thy hand,
Spirit of the departed Scrutiny?
Bring me the Harp, pride of Chatham!
Snow is on thy bosom,
Maid of the modest eye!
A song shall rise!
Every soul shall depart at the sound!!!
The wither'd thistle shall crown my head!!!
I behold thee, O King!
I behold thee sitting on mist!!!
Thy form is like a watery cloud,
Singing in the deep like an oyster!!!
Thy face is like the beams of the setting moon!
Thy eyes are of two decaying flames!
Thy nose is like the spear of Rollo!!!
Thy ears are like three bossy shields!!!
Strangers shall rejoice at thy chin!
The ghosts of dead Tories shall hear me
In their airy hall!
The wither'd thistle shall crown my head!
Bring me the Harp,
Son of Chatham!
But thou, O King! give me the Laurel! 1.

Another kind of literary satire against romanticism appeared in the

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1. Rolliad, p. 302.

work of Anthony Pasquin, who was a neo-classicist in his critical theory if not in his practice. Even in the first part of The Children of Thespis, where he was most moderate, he expressed some opinions distinctly hostile to romanticism. For example, one infers a half-hearted belief in the classical Rules from this explanatory sentence about Doctor Johnson: "In 1749, he produced a tragedy at Drury Lane Theatre, entitled Irene, but being created upon an Aristotelian bias, the public could not relish its beauties..."[1] In the second part, (1787), the satirist was more distinctly hostile to romanticism. He blamed idiotic critics for the fact that "our Dibdins, O'Keefes, &c. are permitted to affright Common Sense from her propriety," and declared that Nature

> " holds up the Stagyrite, Terence, and Plautus,
> To regulate errors that Custom had brought us." [2]

In the third part (1788), he quoted respectfully Aristotle's definition of tragedy, and urged actors to

> "Study Reason's arpeggio to minister pleasure."

His advocating preservation of the unities sounds absurd. Yet he urged dramatists to

> "Preserve all the unities, true as they ought,
> For they're full as essential to acting as thought;
> And those rules by which Greece chain'd the Drama's decorum,
> The play-wright and player should both have before 'em;
> Nor e'er let a vulgar demeanour obtrude,
> To debase your neat form, by a habit that's rude." [3]

In the New Probationary Odes, there is a vigorous piece of satire upon James Beattie. His piety and his romantic love for nature, the satirist ridicules in a neat parody in Spenserian stanza. It is, of course, a petition for the laureatship, and it begins with Beattie's boasting of his victory in controversy with Hume:

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1. Pasquin, 64.
2. Pasquin, 133.
3. Pasquin, 220. Cf. p. 223.

"I, who erewhile in clam'rous fight o'erthrew
David, of infidelity the Dagon,
Pommell'd his sceptic carcase black and blue,
And trampled him as St. George did the dragon;
Now, when the Laureat's mouth has got Death's gagon,
Awake my gothic harp's harmonious frame,
Ditties of duteous loyalty to fag on,
And in the Laureat's list enrol my name;
This, with the sack and gold, is all I dare to claim."

The poet promises to "lay for aye to sleep" his pastoral pipe, because otherwise the King would never read his odes.

"No more I'll sing of meads with May-flow'rs gay,
Nor banks of purple heath or yellow broom,"

nor of pansies, pinks, poppies, nor, in the person of minstrel Edwin, hear enraptured the distant music made

"By sheep and bullocks, huntsman, horn, and hound."

The satire grows more unpleasant when the poet addressing Truth, declares that nobody tells lies at court,

"But all converse like swains in an eclogue;
Truth, what I say is truth, or else I am a rogue." 1.

Gifford, who has already been discussed as the sternest critic of sentimentalism, was the great conservative literary satirist of his decade. Next to him in order comes Mathias, whose literary satire bulks larger than that of any other writer in our period. Thomas James Mathias was a good man and, when his conscience did not lead him astray, a fair judge of literature, but he had the great misfortune to be a pedant. Though in his youth he had some slight inspiration of the romantic spirit, enough to make him publish a thin volume of "runic" odes, as he grew older he grew more conservative. Even in his triumphant literary satire, The Pursuits of Literature (1794-1798), however, he did not exhibit a great dislike of the Blue Stocking sentimentalism which disgusted his fellow satirists.

1. Works of M'Donald, pp. 95-97.

He was a believer in the value of precedent and the necessity of following in the footsteps of the masters.[1] He tried to judge literature strictly in accordance with regular critical principles, but his real method of determining the worth of a work was to call it good if its tendency was to preserve the established order in politics and religion, and otherwise to call it bad.[2] His most interesting criticisms upon romanticism appeared in the fourth dialogue of The Pursuits of Literature (1797). In an explanatory preface the poet, if he may be called a poet whose text is a rivulet or verse running through a meadow not of margin but of learned notes, exhibits his manner of criticizing literature according to ethical standards. He condemns alike Lewis' Monk and Dr. Geddes' translation of the Bible; both have a tendency to encourage laxness of morals. In the course of the dialogue itself he declares:

> "No German nonsense sways my English heart,
> Unus'd at ghosts and rattling bones to start:"

Here he objects to German literature because of its pernicious tendencies with regard to the organization of society, not because it is romantic, for in the very next passage he praises Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered. In this dialogue he rises

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1. In his satirical writing, he avowed himself the disciple of six great teachers, "and full of that spirit which an unbroken and honourable intimacy with their works has inspired." The six were Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Boileau, Dryden, and Pope (Pursuits, pp. 34-37). Of English satirists after Pope he expressed particular admiration for Richard Owen Cambridge, Mason, Tickell, Cowper, and Gifford (Shade of Alexander Pope, p. 21; Pursuits, pp. 52, 47, 101 and 46.

2. In the introductory letter prefaced to the fifth edition of the Pursuits (Pursuits, p. 18) he asks these questions in self-defence:

"Is there, in this work on the Pursuits of Literature, any sentence or any sentiment, by which the mind may be depraved, degraded, or corrupted? Is there a principle of classical criticism in any part of it, which is not just and defensible by the greatest masters of ancient and legitimate composition? Is there any passage which pandars to the vitiated taste, or to the polluted affections and passions of bad men? On the contrary; Are not the heart and understanding fortified unto virtue, and exalted into independence? Is there any idle depreciating declamation, against the real and solid advantages of birth, fortune, learning, wit, talents, and high station? Is there any doctrine, which a teacher of morality, I mean Christian morality, might refuse to sanction?

to a certain vehemence of critical reproof for Joseph Warton and Robert Southey.

The text for his remarks upon Warton is:

"Better to disappoint the public hope,
Like Warton driveling on the page of Pope;
While o'er the ground that Warburton once trod,
The Winton Pedant shakes his little rod,
Content his own stale scraps to steal or glean,
Hash'd up and season'd with an old man's spleen;
Nor e'en the Bard's deformity can 'scape,
'His pictur'd person and his libell'd shape."

The notes accompanying this passage amount to a critical essay of ten pages, in which much of the criticism is from the Anglican-Tory point of view. Because Dr.Warton included in his edition all of Pope's works, even the indecent, the satirist declares:

"I write with indignation against such an edition of such a poet. Does any Husband, or Father, think of cautioning his wife, his daughter, or his son, against any part whatsoever of Pope's works? If this edition becomes general, it will be necessary to do so."

And of the tenor of some of Warton's notes he says: "These are the undermurmurings of a spurious, bastard, half-republicanism." 1.

Similarly the sarcastic comment upon Southey's fluency of poetic composition, which seems to be a bit of purely literary criticism, is shown by its footnote to have a political reason:

"I cannot, will not, in a college gown,
Vent my first nonsense on a patient town,
Quit the dull Cam, and ponder in the park
A six-weeks epic, or a Joan of Arc."

The note is:

"Robert Southy, author of many ingenious pieces of poetry of great promise, if the young gentleman would recollect what old Chaucer says of poetry, ''Tis every dele
'A rock of ice and not of steel.'
He gave the public a long quarto volume of epic verses, Joan of Arc written, as he says in the preface, in six weeks. Had he meant to write well, he should have kept it at least six years.--- I mention this, for I have been much pleased with many of the young gentleman's little copies of verses. I wish also that he would review some of his principles." 2.

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1. Pursuits, pp. 321-330.

2. Pursuits, 294.

In general, The Pursuits of Literature showed their anonymous author to be an upright, conscientious, conservative person, of good classical taste and pride in his rather pedantic scholarship. For all romantic works of literature, their condemnation was immoderate if the works seemed to have the slightest revolutionary or immoral tendency.

Mathias wrote several minor satires during the last decade of the century. One of these, An Epistle in Verse to the Rev. Dr. Randolph (1796) involved a discouraged comparison between the great minds of the day and those of the Age of Anne.[1] Another, The Shade of Alexander Pope on the Banks of the Thames (1798) contained interesting passages of unfavorable comment upon romantic literature of two sorts. In the first place, there is violent objection to the principles of William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft in general, and in particular horrified branding of the recently published memoirs and posthumous works of Mary as "a convenient manual of speculative debauchery, with the most select arguments for reducing it into practice."[2] The satirist praises the Blue Stockings, but feels that duty calls for animadversion when female writers "forget the character and delicacy of their sex" and blow the trumpet of democracy and let loose the spirit of licentiousness! Then he proceeds to regret the terror novels (except those of Mrs. Radcliffe, whom he praises here and in the Pursuits) and the drama which results

"When novels die, and rise again in plays."

He displays especial dislike for the plays translated from the German, not because they are foolishly sentimental but because they are of democratic tendency, belonging rather to Jacobinism than to Christianity:

"No Congress props our drama's falling state;
The modern ultimatum is 'Translate!'

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1. School for Satire, pp. 178-179.
2. The Shade of Alexander Pope on the Banks of the Thames, pp. 43-52.

> Thence spout the morals of the German school...
> No virtues shine but in the peasant's mien,
> No vice, but in patrician robes, is seen.
> Through four dull acts the Drama drags, and drawls,
> The fifth is stagetrick, and the curtain falls." 1.

As a satirist for his own time, Mathias was popular. As a satirist for posterity, he failed because he was too thoughtful for posterity. He sowed his pages thick with notes in order that future readers might not miss the significance of any of his clever allusions, and the notes are generally not amusing. Now and then he rises to a neat phrase such as Gifford might have used. More often, however, he expresses his intolerant disgust uninterestingly. The development of literary satire after Churchill from moderate mildness to violence attained its climax in the work of Gifford. Mathias represents the beginning of the dull decline.

There were other satirists, however, contemporaries of Mathias and Gifford, who in the spirit and tone of their literary satire expressed definitely the conservative spirit of the time. Such a one was the Rev. Richard Polwhele, author of <u>The Unsex'd Females</u> (1798). He might have been a thoroughly classical satirist, rebuking all romanticism; but unfortunately he was a great admirer of "sensibility" such as was displayed in the works of Hannah More. He atoned, however, for this unclassical weakness by the prudish malignity of his attack upon the memory of Mary Wollstonecraft. He calls her and her friends

> "A female band despising Nature's law!"

and also "female Quixotes of the new philosophy." He regrets their studying the sexual system of plants, asserting "If they do not take heed to their ways, they will soon exchange the blush of modesty for the bronze of impudence." And he fears that if girls in boarding school take physical training, as Mary Woll-

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1. <u>The Shade</u>, pp. 57-64, one line on each page, the rest of the space being occupied by explanatory notes.

stonecraft recommends, they will "notly boast the firm gymnastic nerve". Of Mrs. Godwin herself he exclaims:

> "See Wollstonecraft, whom no decorum checks,
> Arise, the intrepid champion of her sex;...
> O'er humbled man assert the sovereign claim,
> And slight the timid blush of virgin fame." 1.

It seems that the Rev. Richard Polwhele tried to be fashionably harsh in his satire upon literary ladies.

Mathias had objected to the lewdness of *Ambrosio; or The Monk*, by Matthew Gregory Lewis. His was the typical but not the invariable attitude toward Lewis. An example of more friendly criticism is to be seen in *The Epistle in Verse to M.G. Lewis* which has already been mentioned because it showed approval of his romantic novel and plays. But though the anonymous poet approved the terror plays of Lewis, he could not stomach other romantic dramas:

> "Not so the monstrous brood that shock belief,
> Palm'd on the town by Morton and O'Keefe;
> Who, still with nature and good sense at strife,
> Profanely stile their figures drawn from life;
> Ev'n Boaden's ghost is surely full as good
> As Holcroft's characters of flesh and blood,
> To which, throughout the year, no day goes by,
> But gives in ev'ry lineament the lie." 2.

Like many another satirist, the author of the *Epistle to Lewis* looked back from the depravity of his own times to a glorious past. In the good old days, says he,

> "No *Stranger* charm'd the un-illumin'd pit
> With French morality and German wit;
> (Where they who deem the principle too light,
> May bless a style that counteracts it quite.)" 3.

Here is no hesitant chiding. But for the inconsistent laudation of Lewis, the *Epistle to Lewis* is typical satire of the last decade of the century, stern in the rebuke of romanticism.

1. *Unsex'd Females*, 13.
2. *Epistle to Lewis*, 8.
3. *Epistle to Lewis*, 9-10.

An even more conventional piece was More Wonders! An Heroic Epistle to M. G. Lewis, Esq. M. P., by Thomas Dermody. It is extreme blaming of romanticism from beginning to end, with only one note of mercy for a contemporary author. Dermody, who was himself a debauchee, declares that he had not judged Peter Pindar as an author by his misbehavior in private life:

"The poet's skill alone intent to scan,
I ne'er dissect the morals of the man.
'Tis mine to trace the beauties of his song:
To other search domestic faults belong." 1.

After mention of Gifford, he throws a few words at Mathias:

"Peace to all pedants! Not to thee I sing
Whose praises through each echoing college ring,
Great living lexicon, whose heathen Greek
Might rouse the angry shade of Sir John Cheke." 2.

Next, after a few words for sentimental poetry and a glance at romance,

"Peace to all poets of the piddling school;
By chance who dazzle, or who err by rule....
Peace to all novelists; a milky tribe
Who ne'er descend coarse Nature to describe..." 3.

he turns his attention to Lewis. First he attacks him for the absurdity and immorality of his tales of horror:

"Thee, too tenacious of thy nurse's tale,
Thee, Lewis, I devote to satire's shrine;
Though pert facility perhaps is thine;
Thine quick conception, of the quainter kind;
And taste, to trifles awkwardly inclin'd.
But why to vice bestow a pander screen?" 4.
Why with thy monstrous births deform the scene?"

Then he proceeds to vivisect Lewis' romantic play, The Castle Spectre:

"In pity I forbear, as carrion prey,
To taint my nostrils with your hideous play;
Where incident and language, point and plot,
And all but loathsome spectacle's forgot...
Smit with the frenzy of a foreign race
Who all their beauty in distortion place,
Who couple contraries with equal ease
As taylors munch their cucumbers with peas,
Was't not enough to filch their flimsy style,
But thou must rob the worthies of our isle, ...

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1. The Harp of Erin (London, 1807), 113.
2. The Harp of Erin, 110.
3. Dermody, 111-112.
4. Dermody, 113.

Those heirs of honour who, divinely brave,
Fought as they sung ....
When charming poesy was all their own,
And Germans, but for dulness, quite unknown?" 1.

The general charge of plagiarism the satirist makes specific by mentioning the names of victims, Dryden, Gray, Bishop Percy, Burns, and Southey, but he declares

"no pen of mine
Had pour'd the stricture of one sober line,
If Southey only felt thy plund'ring rage,
If only Southey's ballads deck'd thy page:
Congenial Southey, who has made poor Joan,
As though in travail, through his volumes groan,
And set so oft all necromancy loose;
Glorious competitor of Mother Goose." 2.

Dermody was a vigorous satirist, as all these specimens demonstrate, conventionally violent in his expression of antipathy to romanticism.

"The Old Hag in a Red Cloak" is slightly less vigorous and considerably more amusing than most anti-romantic satires of the period. In a pleasant series of anapestic verses, beginning,

"Mat Lewis was little, Mat Lewis was young,"

it tells how Lewis met an old hag in Parliament Street and refused her request for sixpence, whereupon she, who proved to be his literary ancestor Mother Goose, visited him and took vengeance upon him by sending back to limbo all the ghosts and hobgoblins and horrible shapes who made up his literary stock in trade. Her commanding curse was in part as follows:

"Ye raw heads and bloody bones, spectres and shades,
And water-sprite swains, and transmogrified maids,
To hell and the devil fly one and fly all!" 3.

Of course they departed with speed,

"While as fast as away Matty's progeny flew,
Mother Goose summon'd up her original crew,
Who with loud peals of laughter and sallies of fun,
Quizz'd, pinch'd and tormented her reprobate son." 4.

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1. Dermody, 116.
2. Dermody, 118.
3. School for Satire, p. 414.
4. School, p. 415.

Blue Beard's howling for blood frightened Lewis so badly that he begged Mother Goose for mercy:

"As now you behold me in penitence sunk,
Take all my Romances, nay, take too my monk;
But leave me, since thus I acknowledge my crime,
My epilogues, sonnets, and lady-like rhyme." 1.

This is not such downright condemnation as Gifford wrought, but it is pitilessly effective satire through ridicule, quite in harmony therefore with the characteristic spirit of literary satire in 1800.

A satirist of much cleverness and sincerity of purpose was Thomas Dutton,[2] who wrote The Wise Man of the East (1800). He believed that he saw a great evil in the growing influence of German romantic drama, especially that of Kotzebue, and he determined to criticize it in the way which seemed likely to be most effective:

"Aware, that elaborate criticism, unaccompanied with humour, and stript of the embellishments of verse, would, from being of too grave a nature to obtain a general perusal, not meet the magnitude and extent of the evil complained of, the author of the present production has had recourse to the assistance of the comic and satiric Muse; and curvetting into the flowery regions of Fancy, has employed the machinery of the poetic world, to give a more pleasing and prepossessing introduction to his critical remarks." 3.

The poem is an account of a dream which came to Mrs. Inchbald, who as she fell asleep had been thinking over her literary triumphs and especially the success of her two translations from Kotzebue, Lover's Vows and The Wise Man of the East. Zoroaster appears to her and, not without poking a little fun at the terror novels, rebukes her for the aid which she has given to the pernicious popularizing of German romantic drama in England. He pleads with her:

"On foreign dulness scorn your wit to waste
Nor sanction with your pen a vicious taste." 4.

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1. School, p. 416.
2. He wrote also The Literary Census; A Satirical Poem (1798).
3. The Wise Man of the East; or, the Apparition of Zoroaster the son of Oromanes, to the theatrical midwife of Leicester-Fields. A Satirical Poem by Thomas Dutton, A. M. (London, 1800), p. vi.
4. The Wise Man of the East, 73.

Gifford was an uncompromising and passionate conservative. Mathias was a truly moral critic of literature. But neither of them wrote the best literary satire of the revolutionary decade, though Gifford probably had a hand in some of it. The best, most entertaining and most effective, literary satires of the time were parodies in the _Anti-Jacobin_. There were other parodies of some interest. _Capell's Ghost to Edmund Malone, Esq_. (1799), for example, was an entertaining satire concerning dishonesty in Shaksperian scholarship.[1] On the whole, however, no parodies approach those of the _Anti-Jacobin_ as effective satires in criticism. In tone they were as remote as possible from the gentleness of Tickell in _The Wreath of Fashion_ or even the polite moderation of the _Archaeological Epistle_. The poets of the _Anti-Jacobin_ rebuked passionately revolutionary tendencies in literature as in politics.

Two objects of their literary satire were representative of the spirit of romanticism in poetry and in the drama, Robert Southey's early poems and the romantic drama of Kotzebue and his followers, which came to England from Germany and Russia. Against Southey the satirists made two chief attacks, parodying his blank verse "Inscription fro the Apartment in Chepstow Castle, where Henry Marten, the Regicide, was imprisoned thirty years," and his unfortunate poems in sentimental Sapphics and dactylics. In the former, the satire is chiefly political, against his democratic sympathy with the regicide. In the latter,

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[1] Reprinted in _The School for Satire_, pp. 401-407. On p. 406, Capell bemoans his fate in having his Shaksperian criticism neglected:

"Warburton and Pope dismaying,
    And their blunders bringing home,
Though condemn'd to Satire's flaying,
    I had met a Tibbald's doom;
To have fallen, Sam Johnson crying,
    He has played a Scholar's part;
Had been better far than dying,
    Stuck by cowards to the heart."

This is a parody of Glover's ballad of _Admiral Hosier's Ghost_.

there is mockery of his sentimentalism and his awkward attempt at writing in classical metre. The parody of the poem in Sapphics, The Widow, is the famous dialogue called The Friend of Humanity and the Knife-grinder. Other parodies soon appeared, the most interesting as literary criticism being this, upon the dactylics of Southey's The Soldier Wife:

"Wearisome Sonnetteer, feeble and querulous,
Painfully dragging out thy demo-cratic lays---
Moon-stricken Sonnetteer, 'ah! for thy heavy chance!'

Sorely thy Dactylics lag on uneven feet:
Slow is the syllable which thou wouldst urge to speed,
Lame and o'erburthen'd, and 'screaming its wretchedness!'

....

Ne'er talk of ears again! look at thy spelling-book;
Dilworth and Dyche are both mad at thy quantities ---
DACTYLICS, call'st thou'em--God help thee, silly one!" 1.

This was showing little mercy to Southey and his friend Coleridge, who had contributed a stanza to the original poem. In the one formal satire among the poems of the Anti-Jacobin, Canning's New Morality, Southey and Coleridge appear again. Here, however, there is less of really literary criticism; they are suspected of revolutionary opinions concerning society rather than poetry. In a mock-canticle of which one couplet is,

"All creeping creatures, venomous and low,
Paine, Williams, Godwin, Holcroft, praise Lepaux!"

they have a place along with Lamb and Lloyd:

"And ye five other wandering bards, that move
In sweet accord of harmony and love,
Coleridge and Southey, Lloyd, and Lamb & Co.
Tune all your mystic harps to praise Lepaux!" 2.

Thus the romantic poets were satirized rather vaguely in the Anti-Jacobin, with Southey bearing the brunt of the attack. Parody of single poems proved itself effective as literary satire. The satirists of the Anti-Jacobin exerted their combined talents to the utmost, however, in a parody of more pretentious

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1. Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, 41. The work of Canning and Gifford.
2. Edmonds, Poetry of the Anti Jacobin, 285, 284; New Morality, ll. 344-345, 330-337.

sort, The Rovers; or, The Double Arrangement, a burlesque of the popular German drama. According to an explanatory letter of its imaginary author, Mr. Higgins, "its moral is obvious and easy; and is one frequently inculcated by the German dramas which I have had the good fortune to see; being no other than 'the reciprocal duties of one or more husbands to one or more wives, and to the children who may happen to arise out of this complicated and endearing connection.'" The Rovers is not only clever in exposing the absurdities of the plays which it imitates, but actually and spontaneously funny. The song of Rogero concerning "the U-niversity of Gottingen" is a humorous poem so often quoted that it would be superfluous to print it here. The Prologue is not so well known, however, and it is especially suitable for quotation because it shows its makers' classical point of view in criticism as well as their powers of spirited derision.

PROLOGUE
In Character.

" Too long the triumphs of our early times,
With civil discord and with regal crimes,
Have stain'd these boards; while Shakespeare's pen has shown
Thoughts, manners, men, to modern days unknown,
Too long have Rome and Athens been the rage; /Applause
And classic buskins soil'd a British stage.

To-night our bard, who scorns pedantic rules,
His plot has borrow'd from the German schools;
The German schools --- where no dull maxims bind
The bold expansion of the electric mind.
Fix'd to no period, circled by no space,
He leaps the flaming bounds of time and place.
Round the dark confines of the forest raves,
With gentle Robbers stocks his gloomy caves;
Tells how Prime Ministers are shocking things,
And reigning Dukes as bad as tyrant Kings;
How to two swains one nymph her vows may give,
And how two damsels with one lover live!
Delicious scenes! -- such scenes our bard displays,
Which, crown'd with German, sue for British, praise....
Nor let succeeding generations say
A British audience damn'd a German play! [1]
/Loud and continued applauses.

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[1] Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, 206-208. I omit about half of the Prologue.

The satire of literature in England during the last decade of the eighteenth century may be said to have reached its best achievement in the work of the poets of the Anti-Jacobin. Gifford working alone was downright and harsh in his condemnation of radical tendencies in literature, but Gifford with allies of subtler intellect produced some of the cleverest parodies in the world, yet lost not the force of his negation of the new principles and his rebuke of irregular literary practices.

After 1800, literary satire degenerated for eight years, until Byron brought it to excellence again in English Bards. The principal objects of criticism in those years were, of course, works of the romantic school, and the hostility of satire to romanticism continued. There were, however, no important single poems of satire in criticism, if we except Peter Pindar's burlesque ballad, Orson and Ellen (1801) and Mant's Simpliciad (1808). On the other hand, there was a considerable amount of incidental literary comment in four general satires which appeared in 1807, and much of that comment was directed against faults of romanticism which Byron was to attack more neatly in his great literary satire.

In All the Talents, Eaton Stannard Barrett, whose nom de plume was Polypus, made a few critical comments concerning romanticism. Tom Moore's sweet lines he thought "too full of puerile conceits, sparkling epithets, and obscure allusions".[1] Scott, on the other hand, he found

"Most ostentatious in simplicity."

He adds a long note upon The Lay of the Last Minstrel, in which he admits that the poem has force in description and consistency in its characters.

> "But here ends its merit. The plot is absurd, and the antique costume of the language is disgusting, because it is unnatural."

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[1] All the Talents: a Satirical Poem in three dialogues, by Polypus (London, 1807), p. 67.

He objects to the language as "a Gothic and Corinthian mixture", but feels that even if it were a true antique "and not a modern coin artificially rusted over," it would still be absurd:

> "For, by the same rule, Gray's bard should have spoken the idiom of King Edward's time, and Norval should now tragedy it away in broad Scotch. If Mr. S. will condescend to write in the present purity of our language, tho' he may no longer decoy readers by what is novel, yet he may win them by what is natural. Philips's Pastorals and Chatterton's Rowley are reposing in the charnels of obscurity. Yet there was a time when they were just as much read and just as much admired as Mr. Sc-tt's minstrel." 1.

There are other critical passages, notably one concerning Cobbett's prose style, but these two, for which we have analogues in English Bards, serve well enough to illustrate Barrett's method and style.

Another satirist who criticized romanticism from a moral point of view was "Timothy Touch'em", the author of The Age of Frivolity. He characterizes the time thus:

"Ours is a studious literary age;
Ours is a land of books, and we exceed
In happy numbers who make shift to read."

Then in a passage distinctly reminiscent of one in Crabbe's Library he contrasts the serious books of the old days with modern "spruce pocket-volumes". Of the Terror school of romance he had but a bad opinion:

"What tales impure---- improbably are told!
What ghostly scenes, that childish fear inspires;
Or scenes of love, that fan unhallow'd fires!" 2.

On the whole, his critical comments show moderate good taste but are quite insignificant.

Brighter satire appears in Lady Anne Hamilton's Epics of the Ton. Her literary satire is confined chiefly to the dozen introductory pages of her rather pretentious book of brief satirical characterizations. There is, however, in the body of the work an extensive portrait of Sheridan, to say nothing of

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1. All the Talents, p. 68.
2. The Age of Frivolity: a Poem, addressed to the Fashionable, the Busy, and the Religious World, by Timothy Touch'em. 2d ed. (London, 1807), pp. 39, 40.

many casual comments. Much of the criticism of romanticism is from the ethical point of view. The satirist classes The Monk with Peregrine Pickle as light reading for women of fashion. "Peregrine Pickle," says she, "adorns many a toilet, where Aristotle's Master-piece would be thought to carry indelible pollution."[1] Then she turns to "Anacreon" Moore with a picture of the Muse who

".. with young Teius sung of am'rous blisses,
With one eternal round of hugs and kisses." [2]

Lady Hamilton's satire upon the Lake poets was more regularly critical. Of two of them, she writes:

"Then still might Southey sing his crazy Joan,
Or feign a Welshman o'er th' Atlantic flown,
Or tell of Thalaba the wondrous matter,
Or with clown Wordsworth chatter, chatter, chatter."

Appended to this passage are notes about the two unfortunates. Of Southey, she says: "This man, the Blackmore of the age, if we look at the number of his Epics, might become the Dryden, if his fancy were chastened by judgment, and his taste cleansed from the maggots of the new school." She grants some virtues to Wordsworth's best poems, also, and praises his meritorious effort "to bring back our poetry to the simplicity of nature." But there is more than a touch of irony in her praise. "Everything is pure from the hand of untutored nature; nor do we discover a single thought or phrase that might not have been uttered by a promising child of six years old."[3]

In foot-notes, Lady Hamilton declares that than Scott few men deserve better to thrive in the world, and that Campbell is "the first poetical genius of our age; but, unfortunately, more a wit than discreet." But concerning them she made these two couplets in continuation of the sentence begun in the passage last quoted:

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[1] The Epics of the Ton: or, The Glories of the Great World, a Poem, in two books (London, 1807), p. 7.
[2] Epics of the Ton, p. 8; cf. p. 265.
[3] Epics, p. 10.

"Good-natured Scott rehearse in well-paid Lays
The Marv'lous chiefs and elves of other days;
Or lazy Campbell spin his golden strains,
And have the Hope he nurtures for his pains." 1.

She devotes eighteen pages to Sheridan; his career as a dramatist she epitomizes thus:

"To rival Shakspeare see his genius rise,
His taste excels, his wit with Shakspeare vies:
Yet see the pigmy monument he rears!--
Two plays are all the work of thirty years:
Save one burlesque to mock the Bavian throng,
One maudlin farce, mere vehicle of song.
At length deserting genius, see him job
A German tragedy to please the mob;
Prop with smart crutch Anne Plumtre's hobbling stile
And of its blossoms the Gazette despoil." 2.

In general, Lady Hamilton's literary satire was fairly mild, except for her mockery of Wordsworth.

Another general satire of the day was Stultifera Navis, modeled upon Barclay's version of Sebastian Brandt's Ship of Fools. There is, indeed, little resemblance in style or subject matter between the two works, but the modern satirist, probably William Henry Ireland, took the general plan and some of the section headings from his sixteenth century source. In his passages of literary satire, he criticized romantic poetry and the novel chiefly on the score of their immoral influence. To lend attractivness to such conventional comments, he sometimes sank to punning, as in this case:

"But in their boudoirs ladies now display
Nugae canorae of the present day;
　　Or Little poems for the fleeting hour;
Effusions which our modern belles adore,
Who only languish as they read for More;
　　Of dulcet trifles such the magic pow'r." 3.

He reveled in bemoaning the evil influence of romances, concerning which he had a surprising amount of scholarly information. In the very first section, "Of

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1. Epics, pp. 11, 12.
2. Epics, pp. 195-196. Anne Plumtre was a translator of Kotzebue.
3. Stultifera Navis... (London, 1807), p. 2.

Foolish Unprofitable Books," he remarks upon the baleful influence of Jean Jacques' Nouvelle Heloise.

"Nay, still the dear illusion to enhance,
Indecency is coupled with romance,"

he groans, and in a footnote he deprecates the importation of Parisian immorality, false philosophy, and irreligion in translations of such works as Madame de Stael's Delphine and of German philosophical nonsense in "the German extravaganza, both literary and dramatic." 1.

Of straightforward literary criticism upon aesthetic grounds there is very little in the Ship. The satirist does, however, inveigh strongly against poets of the new school:

"For who can rhymes read with prose diction,
And not feel mental crucifixion?
Or themes heroic penn'd in bad blank verse:
Than which, on earth, no torture can be worse." 2.

On the whole, Ireland's literary satire upon romanticism is conventional and commonplace, without the vigorous quality of strong personal feeling.

More thorough criticism of the romantic position, but no more severe, appears in the one remaining regular literary satire published before Byron's debut as a satirist, Richard Mant's Simpliciad (1808). This poem is a straightforward but courteous rebuke for Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey on account of their departure in several respects from the conventions of English poetizing. The criticism is professedly based upon classical principles, or, as the poet expresses the matter, "suggested by Horace's Art of Poetry, and improved by a Contemplation of the Works of the first Masters." 3. He regrets especially that the Lake Poets are not content with the recognized English metres of Milton,

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1. Stultifera Navis, pp. 2, 3.
2. Stultifera Navis, p. 191.
3. The title as quoted in The Poetical Register, and Repository of Fugitive Poetry, for 1808-1809 (London, 1812), p. 569. The reviewer thought the Simpliciad a polite and polished satire.

Dryden, Thomson, Pope, and Cowper, but must

"... rummage Percy's Reliques:
In sapphics limp, or amble in dactylics,
Trip it in Ambrose Philips' trochaics:
In dithyrambics vault; or hobble in prosaics." 1.

Taken as a whole, the literary satire between 1800 and 1808 is of small account. It is not so tolerant as that of Tickell and his contemporaries, nor so whole-heartedly bigoted as that of Gifford and Mathias. One feels that its moderation is the result of weakness rather than of restraint, and regrets that the genre has fallen upon evil days. Yet it was soon revived, gloriously in the work of Byron and less noisily but no less significantly in the Rejected Addresses (1812) of James and Horace Smith.

In the forty-five years between the death of Churchill and the publication of Byron's first important satirical poem, literary satire went through a definite course of development with regard to its ideas concerning the new tendency in literature. Sentimentalism was at first regarded with no great displeasure even when it was considered a fair subject of ridicule. As time went on and sentimentalism grew stronger and began to associate itself with the other, more distinctly romantic manifestations of the new glorification of emotion, satirical opposition became more bitter. Tickell's Wreath of Fashion (1778) and Gifford's Baviad (1795) represent typically the early courteous and mild reproof and the later harsh condemnation of sentimentalism. There was a similar change with regard to the more distinctly romantic manifestations in literature. At first there was some disposition to sympathize with the new notions, and satirists who could not sympathize were at least gentle and courteous in their criticism. Of satirists who showed romantic leanings, the most important were Huddesford and two poets who were romanticists in other respects also, Chatterton and Cowper. An early example of restrained reproof of romanticism

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1. As quoted by Wm. E. Axon in News for Bibliophiles, in The Nation (New York), vol. 94, No. 2436, Mar. 7, 1912, p. 231.

was the little copy of verses in which Doctor Johnson mocked at the antiquarian poems of Thomas Warton. Soon, as the glacier of romanticism gained momentum, satire began to damn it with sterner rebuke. The satirical styles of Peter Pindar and George Crabbe grew harsher, and Anthony Pasquin's bitter tirades commenced to find a hearing. At the same time, the device of parody was revived and used against both sentimentalism and romance itself by Tickell and the other authors of the Probationary Odes, and also by Matthew Bramble. At last came Gifford the acrimonious, and with him came pedantic Mathias, a more rigid moralist but less positive and decisive in his critical dicta and less fearsome master of passionate denunciation. The poetry of the Anti-Jacobin written by a group of talented verse-makers among whom Gifford and Canning were the leaders, exhibited parody at its best as a medium for political, social, and literary satire. The minor literary satirists of the last decade of the eighteenth century were, with few exceptions, merely disciples of those prophets of conservatism, Gifford and Mathias, whom also the insignificant group of nineteenth century literary satirists before Byron followed afar off. Regular literary satire had already fallen into its decadence when Lord Byron revived it for a moment in 1809.

Chapter IV

The Form of Literary Satire

Poets who took literary subjects as material for satire in the period between Churchill and Byron presented their critical observations in two quite different ways. Sometimes they satirized evil tendencies regularly, classically, directly, announcing their critical opinions neatly in epigrammatic couplets. This conventional method afforded especial facilities for open rebuke and ridicule, and at the same time did not preclude the less obvious taunts of irony. But not infrequently the satirists attempted a subtler kind of literary satire, that criticism by imitation which has the general name of burlesque. In particular, they made good use of the device of parody.[1] The literary satire of our period, then, was of two kinds, the one regular and immediate, the other indirect.

The chief medium of outspoken and straightforward satirical comments on books and writers was the conventional formal satire. The ordinary metre was the antithetical heroic couplet which had been perfected by Pope.[2] A few poets, Anstey,

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1. For analytical discussion of the various "indirect or dramatic" satirical methods, and especially of burlesque, see Professor S. M. Tucker's Verse Satire in England before the Renaissance (New York, 1908), pp. 18-21.
2. There were, to be sure, epigrams upon authors, but such little pieces served rather to show the poets' cleverness than to criticize the objects of their wit. An amusing epigram is this diagnosis by Garrick of the case of Dr. Hill, the botanist and miscellaneous writer, dramatist and quack doctor of whom Doctor Johnson said, to Majesty itself, "that he was an ingenious man but had no veracity":

Huddesford, and Pasquin, wrote galloping anapestic lines. Practically none wrote Hudibrastics. Peter Pindar sometimes wrote in quatrains instead of in couplets. Cowper, of course, used blank verse as well as the more conventional metre. But the more conspicuous satirists, if not better poets, Mathias and Gifford, with all their train of followers and imitators, presented their destructive criticisms in iambic pentameter couplets which they backed by profuse Dryasdust notes.

The formal literary satires of the period display little that is new or at all significant on the side of technique. They represent merely the decadence of a kind of writing which flourished in the days of Pope. All of them except those of Peter Pindar, whose forte was ironic description of things ludicrous, were characteristically straightforward in their rebukes of the artistic faults of authors, and those which appeared later in the century differed from their predecessors only in being, for the most part, more rigidly conventional in form, more intensely stern in their chiding, and distinctly less imaginative. At the very moment of the romantic triumph, there was this flourishing kind of writing which possessed as its chief merit adherence to accepted forms and imitation of classic models. For their heavy prose notes, their real and fatal contribution to the development of literary satire, Mathias and Gifford found a precedent in the notes of Scriblerus in <u>The Dunciad</u>. And their

(Cont'd.) "For physic and farces,
His equal there scarce is:
His farces are physic,
His physic a farce is." -

<u>New Foundling Hospital for Wit</u> (London, 1784), II, 176. Johnson's remarks I quote from Boswell, I, 361.

verses resembled those of the classic satirists as Frankenstein's automaton resembled a man! They had the mechanical attributes of regular literary satire in heroic couplets, but nothing more; they were imitative and artificial. There is a kind of imitation for the sake of literary satire, nevertheless, the very essence of which is originality. Partly because this other kind of imitation possesses originality which is historically important, partly because the regular satire has been given thorough technical discussion by far abler critics than the present writer,[1] it seems proper to dwell no further on this part of the subject but to devote the present chapter to analysis of the use of burlesque and parody as a means of literary criticism in England between 1764 and 1809.

The classically Roman satirization by means of direct denunciation of evils was thoroughly efficient. But the Greeks had a more artistic fashion, exaggerated mockery of the faults and foibles which were the objects of their derision. For literary satire in particular, imitation which exaggerates the defects of its original is really the oldest method. This is no outspoken condemnation but a cheerful mockery reducing to palpable absurdity the imperfections of the work or style which it would criticize. It is the mimicry by which Aristophanes the conservative rebuked Euripides the radical. It is the burlesque simulation through which Chaucer's Sir Thopas exposed the soporific

[1] Notably, Professor W. J. Courthope in Chapter VI of Volume VI of his History of English Poetry (London, 1910), and C. W. Previté-Orton in Chapter V of his Political Satire in English Poetry (Cambridge, 1910).

long-windedness of the old-fashioned metrical romances. Here the satirist dispenses with lantern-jawed sternness of reproof; he is constantly smiling up his sleeve, and he often laughs good-humoredly at the lifelike seeming of his caricatures. Parodies which imply strictures upon their models have less of violence and more of subtlety than the regular satires in criticism.

Although the earliest literary satires were parodies of the objects of their disgust, parody was not commonly used as a vehicle of literary criticism before our period, except with regard to one great field of literary endeavor, that of the stage. In the drama, there were various kinds of satire by imitation. It was only a step from the satirical rebuke of objectionable "humours" by personifying them in comic characters to the criticism of authors by presenting them as personae dramatis. This was the scheme which Jonson employed in The Poetaster, as did Aristophanes two thousand years earlier in The Frogs. Buckingham and his allies likewise shadowed forth Dryden as Bayes in their Rehearsal. In The Rehearsal there is also another burlesque element, that of parodying a species or style of dramatic composition, a kind of satire which has degenerated in America to the "burlesque show" and the vaudeville travesty of Hamlet. Carey's Chrononhotonthologos (1734) is superlative bombast in mockery of the ranting heroic plays. Of analagous purpose, so far as it had earnest purpose at all, was The Critic (1779) of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, in which he ridiculed chiefly the drama of sensibility. The Critic was a triumph, in spite of the fact that popular taste continued to favor the superiority of emotion to reason and approved the sentimental comedy till it merged, at the

end of the century, into the romantic drama which was made in Germany. The new plays which resulted from this combination expressed the romantic's contempt for conventional restraints and the sentimentalist's adoration of fine feelings. Four gifted satirists, Frere, Gifford, George Ellis, and Canning, struck both ways at once in the best of dramatic parodies for the purpose of literary criticism, The Rovers (1798).[1] The Rovers, or, The Double Arrangement, is not a real play, but merely a collection of absurdities founded upon various German romantic dramas, especially those of Kotzebue. There are three rather short acts in prose, with occasional songs, the first, second, and fourth acts of a hypothetical German original rendered into English. There is also a brief summary of the third act, as well as a list of dramatis personae and an extended prologue in verse. The list of characters, though such lists are generally dull, will afford a conception of the humorous quality of the piece:

"Prior of the Abbey of Quedlinburgh, very corpulent and cruel.

Rogero, a prisoner in the Abbey, in love with Matilda Pottingen.

Casimere, a Polish emigrant, in Dembrowsky's legion, married to Cecilia, but having several children by Matilda.

Puddingfield and Beefington, English noblemen, exiled by the tyranny of King John, previous to the signature of Magna Charta.

Roderic, Count of Saxe Weimar, a bloody tyrant, with red hair and an amorous complexion.

Gaspar, the minister of the Count -- author of Rogero's confinement.

Young Pottingen, brother to Matilda.

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1. Anti-Jacobins, Nos. XXX and XXXI, June 4 and 11, 1798, contained the original publication of The Rovers.

Cecilia Mückenfeld, wife to Casimere.

Landlady, Waiter, Grenadiers, Troubadours, &c.&c.

Pantalowsky and Britchinda, children of Matilda, by Casimere.

Joachim, Jabel, and Amarantha, children of Matilda, by Rogero.

Children of Casimere and Cecilia, with their respective nurses.

Several children -- fathers and mothers unknown.

The Scene lies in the town of Weimar, and the neighbourhood of the Abbey of Quedlinburgh.

Time from the 12th to the present century."[1]

In addition to the dramatic burlesque, there was also in English before the middle of the eighteenth century a certain amount of imitative prose for the sake of criticism of the object of parody. Don Quixote, perhaps the most successful parody of this sort that ever was written, enjoyed great popularity in Great Britain. A native English burlesque novel was Fielding's Joseph Andrews (1742), in which he exposed the ridiculous inconsistencies of Richardson's great piece of sentimentalism, Pamela (1740). Possibly we have a similar burlesque novel in our period, if Walpole's Castle of Otranto (1764) was in very truth intended as a mocking imitation of the gothic romances. There were, however, published in the same decade two interesting pieces of literary prose satire of rather different nature.

Archibald Campbell's Lexiphanes (1767) and The Sale of Authors (1767) were doubly imitative, and at the same time thoroughly original. The former is modeled upon Lucian's dialogue of the same name, and is, with incidental passages of ribaldry,

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1. Edmonds, Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, pp. 205-206.

such a piece of critical satire as its full title would suggest: "Lexiphanes, a Dialogue. Imitated from Lucian, and suited to the present Times. Being an Attempt to restore the English Tongue to its ancient Purity, and to correct, as well as expose, the affected Style, harsh Words, and Absurd Phraseology of many Writers, and particularly of Our English Lexiphanes the Rambler

> Whose ordinary rate of Speech
> In Loftiness of Sound is rich;
> A <u>Bablylonish</u> Dialect,
> Which learned Pedants much affect:
> It is a parti-colour'd Dress,
> Of patch'd and py-ball'd Languages:
> 'Tis English cut on <u>Greek</u> or <u>Latin</u>,
> Like Fustian heretofore on Sattin.
> Hudibras."

As in Lucian's dialogue Lexiphanes talked the pernicious artificial prose of decadent Greece, so in Campbell's, Lexiphanes talks in an unnatural stilted style, -- that of Doctor Johnson. He calls an ordinary hand-shake, for instance, "a reciprocal and most amicable intermixture and conquassation of hands."[1] Campbell took directly from Lucian a device which Ben Jonson had used in <u>The Poetaster</u>, that of administering to the affected stylist an emetic which made him vomit forth all his big words.[2] The satire

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1. <u>Lexiphanes</u> .. 4th edition (Dublin, 1774), p. 38.
2. <u>Anstey in <u>The Priest Dissected</u> (Bath, 1774), p. 33-34, uses a variation of this physical kind of critical burlesque when he writes:

> "'Twere better, first, a vomit to promote,
> And cram his own d---d verses down his throat,
> For oft' the nonsense which from verse distils
> Creates a qualm like oxymel of squills;
> Which makes it strange that learned men should choose
> To work so much in critical reviews;
> Unwholesome trade! What poison can be worse
> Than vile effluvia of unmeaning verse?"

ends when Johnson has spewed out his latinized vocabulary ad nauseam.

The Sale of Authors is of more complex organization, halfway between a dialogue and a comedy. It is a distant imitation of Lucian's Sale of Philosophies in three scenes chiefly in prose and a ludicrous epilogue in verse. The fable is simple: Mercury and Apollo, lacking funds, kidnaped a great number of miscellaneous authors and auctioned them off; they could get little or nothing for authors of recognized merit but received fabulous amounts in payment for such people as Hoyle and the Methodist preacher, Whitefield. A passage which illustrates the general form and style of the work, and the nature of its critical implications is that in which Gray is brought up for sale. Mercury begins with this announcement:

"Here, gentlemen and ladies, we exhibit the sweetly plaintive G---, the divine Author of Elegies on a Church-yard, and a Cat; who bids for the sweetly plaintive G---?"

Then Mercury is compelled to explain why Gray wears only a watchman's greatcoat. The two gods had captured him, it seems, by hiring some men to raise a cry of fire near the poet's home, so that he would jump out of bed, throw his rope-ladder out of the window, and climb down it. Apollo interrupts the narrative:

"You talk too much, Mercury; you'll never have done at this rate. Let the Poet exhibit a specimen of his powers.

Mr. G--y.

The Curfew tolls the knell of parting day,
The lowing herds wind slowly o'er the lea,
The plowman homeward plods his weary way,
And leaves the world to darkness and to me.

Mercury.

Admirably simple and elegant! Universally natural, Dorick, and pastoral!

With kiltit coats when linkan o'er the lea,
I saw my Meg, but Maggie saw nae me.

You see, gentlemen, he imitates Allan Ramsay, the Prince of Pastoral Poets. Weary way, plowman plods. Happy alliteration! This line is worth a whole Dryden's Ode for St. Cecilia. Such are his Elegiac, now for his Pindarick Powers.

Mr. G--y.

Ruin seize thee Ruthless King!

Mercury.

Better and better still. Only observe with what sublimity he has expressed the very vulgar phrase of Devil take ye. Come, who bids most money for the sweetly plaintive G--y?"[1]

Parodies in verse have been common in England since the middle ages. But their use for criticism of the form, style, or particular work imitated was largely a development of the latter half of the eighteenth century. The medieval parodies of church ritual, for example, though many of them were intended as satires upon the faults of the clergy, certainly involved no unfavorable criticism of the objects of their imitation. Parody was early used as a device of satire, but not of literary satire. The mock-heroic, one of the recognized species of formal satire, is itself a kind of parody upon the sublime style of epic poetry.[2] On the

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1. The Sale of Authors, a Dialogue in imitation of Lucian's Sale of Philosophers (London, 1767), pp. 21-23.

2. Even the travesties such as Cotton's Scarronides, or Virgil Travestie (1664-1670) (Works, London, 1715) do not involve or imply unfavorable criticism of the originals which they burlesque.

other hand, many parodies are quite without satirical intent of any sort. Such were Phillips' Splendid Shilling and the numerous mid-eighteenth century parodies of Alexander's Feast.[1] Even Pope's imitations of other English poets were not definitely critical of the merits of those styles.

Pope it was, however, who afforded the suggestion to Mason and Mathias, if not to other satirists of their day, for the use of verse parody as a means of clever destructive literary criticism. Perhaps he got the idea in evolutionary fashion from mock-heroic burlesque poetry, Hudibras, for example, or from the dramatic employment of the same device in The Rehearsal. Certainly some of his contemporaries saw the great possibilities in parody, as this passage from Shaftesbury's Advice to an Author proves:

"In effect, we may observe, that in our own nation, the most successful Criticism or Method of Refutation, is that which borders most on the manner of the earliest Greek Comedy. The highly-rated burlesque poem, written on the subject of our religious controversys, in the last age, is a sufficient token of this kind. And that justly admired piece of comick wit, given us some time after by an author of the highest quality, has furnish'd our best Wits, in all their controversys, even in religion and politics, as well as in the affairs of wit and learning, with the most effectual and entertaining method of exposing folly, pedantry, false reason, and ill writing."[2]

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1. See Chapter I ante.
2. Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times ... by the Right Honourable Anthony, Earl of Shaftsbury, 5th edition (London, 1732), I, 259. Cf. also the discussion of Greek comedy on page 246.

Pope satirized antiquarian scholarship in a few Dunciad lines which are parody not of the writings of the learned men whom they criticize but of the antique style which those men admired. In The Dunciad Variorum (1729), Book III, lines 181-186, this criticism by example appears:

"But who is he, in closet close y-pent,
Of sober face, with learned dust besprent?
Right well mine eyes arede the myster wight,
On parchment scraps y-fed, and Wormius hight.
To future ages may thy dulness last,
As thou preserv'st the dulness of the past!"

This passage distinctly foreshadows the criticism of antiquarianism through parodies of the Rowleian style.

After 1760, the use of parody as a means of satirizing literary manners and mannerisms began to be more common. An early example within our period is the piece of verse which Garrick called "Johnson's criticism on the 'Hermit'".[1] It is a burlesque imitation of the style of Bishop Percy's Hermit of Warkworth (1771), but it displays not only that hood poet's foibles but those of writers of pseudo-ballads in general. A quatrain from Percy's ballad goes:

"Now rest ye both, the Hermit said;
Awhile your cares forego:
Nor, Lady, scorn my humble bed;
--*We*'ll pass the night below."

And a representative quatrain from The Hermit by Oliver Goldsmith is as follows:

"His rising cares the hermit spied,
With answering care oppress'd:
'And whence, unhappy youth,' he cried,
'The sorrows of thy breast?'"

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[1] Croker's edition of Boswell's Life of Johnson, revised by John Wright (London, 1888), IX, 241.

If we had not Cradock's testimony, it would be hard to know which poem, if either, Johnson had in mind when he wrote this common sense mockery of romanticism:

"Hermit hoar, in solemn cell,
Wearing out life's evening gray,
Strike thy bosom sage! and tell,
What is bliss, and which the way?

Thus I spoke, and speaking sigh'd,
Scarce repress'd the starting tear,
When the hoary sage reply'd,
Come, my lad, and drink some beer."[1]

In The Citizen of the World (1762), Goldsmith had published three burlesque pieces in ridicule of the conventional newspaper verses. Perhaps from these Johnson got the trick of writing three serious lines and adding an absurd fourth which made the whole quatrain ludicrous. In the following typical passage, Goldsmith parodies the regular artificiality of the journalistic "monody or apotheosis" which was bound to appear when a man of distinction died:

"How sad the groves and plains appear,
And sympathetic sheep,
Even pitying hills would drop a tear--
If hills could learn to weep."[2]

The most regular of literary satires in burlesque dress in our period was The Wreath of Fashion (1778) by Richard Tickell. This critique upon the Bath-easton coterie of sentimental poets is, in form, a piece of advice to an aspiring bard; it involves, however, a mock-heroic account of the contest for the prize of Society's favor. The story is that at the Shrine of Fashion there is a great Vase of Sentiment into which competing poets drop their poems and that the poem which is judged best is to receive

[1] Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson, LL.D. ...2d ed. (London, 1786), p. 66.

[2] The Poetical Works of Oliver Goldsmith...ed. Austin Dobson (London, 1905), p. 133.

the prize. Here the custom of Lady Miller and her circle becomes the basis of an allegory which represents the soft weakness of all fashionable verse-making. Though it thus has a mock-heroic frame, Tickell's satire, like Pope's in The Dunciad, is essentially personal and direct. In his work, epic-burlesque is a cloak rather than an incarnation of satire. For example, see his characterization of the obscure poet Storer:

> "Famish'd as pennance, as devotion pale,[1]
> Plaintive and pert, he murmurs a love-tale."

This couplet illustrates also the liberties which Tickell took in distributing the accents of his heroic couplets. He was rather a careless imitator of the regular satires than an innovator, however, and his Wreath does not distinctly belong in the group of indirect literary satires. It does present destructive literary criticism in a poem which is technically burlesque in form, but its criticism is outspoken rather than to be inferred and is not at all concerned with the vague and remote object of the burlesque, the style of epic poetry.[2]

Of fairly extensive pieces of literary satire in thoroughly burlesque form there were several toward the close of the century. Though all involved imitation of the works about which they presented open or implied criticisms, they all possessed distinct individuality. For instance, there were two important satires concerning the Rowley-Chatterton scholarly controversy, Mason's Archaeological Epistle (1782) and Mathias' Rowley and Chatterton in the Shades (1782), and both poets, apparently working upon the hint in the Dunciad, employed the device of clothing

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1. Wreath of Fashion, p. 6.
2. The mock-heroic is a kind in itself, though by origin it was parody of the epic. Cf. Tucker, p. 21.

satire upon antiquarianism in archaic language. Yet in other respects, there is little stylistic resemblance between the two poems.

An Archaeological Epistle, to The Reverend and Worshipful Jeremiah Milles, D.D., is in part a parody upon Chatterton's pseudo-Middle English style, but its purpose, far from belittling him, is to prove the originality of his genius, in opposition to the opinion of antiquarians that the Rowley poems were really of fourteenth-century origin. The satirist declares in his preface, "I shall write Heroico-Archaeologically -- employing a style and manner of which there is at present only one exemplar in the known world. ...And I am the rather inclined to do this, because I am credibly informed, that many formidable critics are still attempting to disprove the authenticity of my original." His method of evolving this antique style he explains in such a way as to cast gay doubt upon the logic by which opponents had tried to prove the antiquity of the Rowleian poems: "I profess only to write in common plain English first, and afterwards to unspell it, and unanglicize it, by means of that elaborate glossary, which Dr. Milles has fabricated for the use of the readers of my original."[1] In the "archaeological" part of his poem the satirist

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[1] School for Satire, 105-106. In the next two pages of the preface there is a clever satirical characterization of Doctor Johnson's style. One sentence will suffice to show the general tone: "Then, as to the construction of whole sentences, nothing in the world is so totally dissimilar, as the Lexiphanic and the Archaeologic manner: the one is swotie, mole, and fetive; the other rugose, cacophonous, and dentifrangent."

ironically censures Thomas Warton and Dean Percy for doubting the authenticity of the works of Rowley, and rebukes himself, with Gray and Walpole, for similar offences. Stanza XI, which is typical, is as follows:

"Butte, minstrelle Maisonne, blyn thie chyrcheynge dynne;
On thee scalle be bewrecked grete Rowley's wronge;
Thou wyth this compheere Graie dydde furst begynne
To speke in deignous denwere offe hys songe,
And, wythe enstroted Warpool, deemed hys laies
Fresh as newe rhyms ydropte inne ladie Myller's vase."

This is scholarly and courteous satire, certainly. Slightly more acrimonious is the plain English stanza, XVI:

"O mighty Milles! who o'er the realms of sense
Hast spread that murky antiquarian cloud,
Which blots out truth, eclipses evidence,
And taste and judgment veils in sable shroud;
Which makes a beardless boy a monkish priest,
Makes Homer string his lyre, and Milton ape his jest."

The author of the other important satire in the Rowleian controversy,[1] Thomas James Mathias, was a learned man and a good judge of satirical style, for he allowed his own work to be influenced by Mason's Heroic and Archaeological Epistles, as is proved

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[1] Chatterton's fate was a common subject for satirical comment. The author of The Titiad, a series of satires (London, 1791) devoted five doggerel lines to bemoaning the boy's death. A similar feeling George Dyer expressed in this lugubrious couplet:

"Ah! think of Chatterton, that child of care,
Plowing in hope, and reaping in despair."

(Poems, London, 1801, p. 318.) Anthony Pasquin took up the cudgels for Chatterton against Walpole in several lines and a long note of prose, in his Poems (London, 1791), II, 160-161. There were also other complete satires on the Rowleian controversy besides the two mentioned in the text. For example, there is preserved in An Asylum for Fugitive Pieces (London, 1785), II, 65-74, an Ode, addressed to Edmond Malone, Esq. on his presuming to examine the learned and unanswerable arguments urged by Jacob Bryant, Esq. and the Rev. Dr. Milles, in support of the authenticity of Rowley's Poems. It contains interesting derisive remarks about Edward Burnaby Greene, as well as ironical rebuke for Malone:

"Malone, you're petulant and vain,
Shakespeare has turn'd your giddy brain..."

by allusions in the preface of Rowley and Chatterton in the Shades and also in that of his first satire, An Heroic Epistle to the Rev. Richard Watson (1780).[1] Mathias chose a unique form for his "new Elysian Interlude in Prose and Verse". It is a playlet the persons of which are heroes, poets, and antiquaries, ancient, modern, and medieval, who talk in prose, rhyme, and blank verse upon occasion. The tone is one of good humored if sometimes rather pedantic persiflage. The satire is general, and the bitterest passages seem mere pedagogical sarcasm. This dramatic piece has little or no plot; Rowley meets Chatterton in Elysium, and they plan to visit earth together. The doctrine is that whether Chatterton was a forger or not, he did more for the revival of interest in the Middle Ages than did all the host of antiquarians. In their preliminary conversation, Rowley and Chatterton make merry over the credulity of mankind, and the former is especially cheerful at the thought that he has been saluted in the

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1. Rowley and Chatterton in the Shades: or, Nugae Antiquae et Novae. A new Elysian Interlude, in prose and verse (London, 1782), p.vii; and An Heroic Epistle to the Rev. Richard Watson, D.D.F.R.S. Archdeacon of Ely, Late Professor of Chemistry, now Regius Professor of Divinity In the University of Cambridge. ..2d. ed. (London, 1780), pp.iv-v. In the Epistle, II, 161-166, Mathias first commented upon the Rowleian controversy, in describing Dr. Glynn, an Oxonian who believed in Rowley:

> Mark cloister'd Gl--n, with well-extended foot,
> Wrapt up in Rowley and his red surtout;
> Nor George, nor North, nor Fox his cares engage,
> But B-r--y's roll, and Warton's glossing page.
> While Atwood dares the philosophic war:
> "His spear a sun-beam, and his shield a star."

The extent of his interest in the subject is shown by the fact that in 1783 he published a thin volume upon it, An Essay on the Evidence, External and Internal, relating to the poems attributed to Thomas Rowley, in which he came to a rather indecisive conclusion in favor of the antiquity of the poems. J. F. Marsh, in Notes and Queries for April 27, 1878, (5th Ser., IX, 321-322), adduced a Ms. notes of Mathias' which proves that he believed that not all of the Rowleian poems were Chatterton's own compositions.

Upper World as the author of poems which he never heard of. When Chatterton belittles his own genius by explaining how a commentator "attributes his own inventions to the patient author before him", Rowley replies, "I perceive matters above are in the old routine, the same scenes with new actors."[1] At this point, Ossian strolls in, singing a section of Fingal to himself. Then come Phalaris and Dr. Bentley, to whose conversation Rowley and Chatterton lend interested ears. In the second act, Rowley rejoins Chatterton after having secured from Minos a passport for their trip to the Upper World. Apropos of some remarks of characters from his poems, Chatterton declares that poets do not write to please the persons whom they celebrate. "Ridiculous!" says he, "vanity is the main spring, and momentary amusement naturally accounts for the rest." The entrance of Turgot and Kenewalcha is the excuse for an annotator's jest concerning a passage of strange guess-work in Bryant's Observations on Rowley's Poems. After the fictitious characters come four poets, three of them men who really lived, Pierce Plowman, Chaucer, Lydgate, and Spenser. They talk in Rowleian, and Lydgate speaks this tribute to Chatterton:

"For know a wondrous Boy has touched our stringes
And veiled in termes straunge his nobile thought
Whereof enmarveilled all Englonde ringes:
To such perfection is his work ywrought,
From mothes and parchments olde they deeme it brought;
So soft into their minds delusion flows,[2]
Like as the dew descendeth on the rose."

(Cont'd.) Mr. Marsh calls Mathias "a professed critic and a scholar of pretensions infinitely superior to Walpole's."

1. Rowley and Chatterton in the Shades; or, Nugae Antiquae et Novae. A New Elysian Interlude, in prose and verse (London, 1782), p. 8.
2. Rowley and Chatterton, 35-36.

Then "Enter a troop of Antiquarians, Lexicographers, Glossarians, Etymologists, Itinerarians, Journalists, &c. with Leland, Antony à Wood, Elias Ashmole, Kersey, and Skinner at their head", and they indulge in a wild irregular ode, till they are interrupted by the Shade of a young poet, who chants an ode of his own in glorification of the work of Chatterton. Finally Rowley points the moral with the remark that if it had not been for Chatterton's poems, nobody would have cared to read the dusty tomes of erudite specialists in the literature of Chaucer and his contemporaries. The satire is mild enough, though not without sharp jabs at the foibles of medievalism, but the form of the interlude and its wit were too scholarly for the ordinary reader, and so Rowley and Chatterton never achieved any considerable measure of popularity.

As Peter Pindar used the device in Bozzy and Piozzi (1786), satire by means of parody might be compared to caning a man with his own walking-stick. Wolcot depicts Boswell and Madame Piozzi competing in alternate anecdotes before Sir John Hawkins who sits in judgment to determine and

"Declare the properest pen to write Sam's Life."

The anecdotes are taken from Madame Piozzi's Anecdotes (1786) and Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides (1785). Peter merely versifies them, scrupulously giving references, in footnotes, to the exact pages upon which he found the prose originals. His chief implied criticism is that the biographers tell too much about themselves and too little, or too trivial facts, about their great subject. The first objection applies especially to Boswell, and the other to Madame Piozzi. Here are two specimens:

"Madame Piozzi.
For me, in Latin Doctor Johnson wrote
Two lines upon Sir Joseph Banks's Goat;
A goat that round the World so curious went; [1]
A goat that now eats grass that grows in Kent."

"Bozzy.
When young ('twas rather silly, I allow),
Much was I pleased to imitate a Cow.
One time at Drury Lane with Doctor Blair,
My imitations made the playhouse stare.
So very charming was I in my roar,
That both the galleries clapped, and cried, "Encore."
Blest by the general plaudit and the laugh,
I tried to be a Jackass and a Calf;
But who, alas, in all things can be great?
In short, I met a horrible defeat:
So vile I brayed and bellowed, I was hiss'd;
Yet all who knew me, wonder'd that I miss'd.
Blair whisper'd me, "You've lost your credit now:
Stick, Boswell, for the future, to the Cow." [2]

Peter shows himself less courteous than most of his contemporary satirists, for his amusing burlesque is full of strong language and personal taunts. His style grows stronger towards the end of the Eclogue. The two competitors deride each other for the absurdity of their anecdotes and for their belittling of the great Doctor. And as their quarrel progresses, they descend to personalities:

"Bozzy.
Well, Ma'am, since all that Johnson said or wrote
You hold so sacred, how have you forgot
To grant the wonder-hunting World a reading
Of Sam's Epistle just before your Wedding;
Beginning thus (in strains not form'd to flatter),
'Madam,
If that most ignominious matter
Be not concluded,--'
Farther shall I say?
No; we shall have it from yourself some day,
To justify your passion for the youth
With all the charms of eloquence and truth.

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1. Peter Pindar, I, 370.

2. Peter Pindar, I, 366-367.

Madame Piozzi.
What was my marriage, Sir, to you or him?
He tell me what to do! a pretty whim!
He to propriety (the beast) resort!
As well might Elephants preside at court.
Lord! let the world to damn my match agree;
Good God, James Boswell, what's that world to me?"

And the lady waxes profane, finally concluding:

"So now, you prating Puppy, hold your tongue."

Then Sir John interrupts before Bozzy can reply:

"For shame, for shame! for Heaven's sake, both be quiet;
Not Billingsgate exhibits such a riot;
Behold, for Scandal you have made a feast,
And turn'd your idol, Johnson, to a Beast.
'Tis plain that tales of ghosts are arrant lies,
Or instantaneously would Johnson's rise;
Make you both eat your paragraphs so evil;
And, for your treatment of him, play the devil.
Just like two Mohawks, on the man you fall; [1]
No murderer is worse served at Surgeons' Hall."

His chastening oration continues for almost two pages. Its conclusion, after which he ran to find Black Frank,

"on Anecdote to cram,
And vomit first a life of Surly Sam,"

is as follows:

"For thee, James Boswell, may the hand of Fate
Arrest thy goose-quill and confine they prate:
Thy egotisms the world disgusted hears;
Then load with vanities no more our ears,
Like some lone Puppy, yelping all night long,
That tires the very echoes with his tongue.
Yet, should it lie beyond the powers of Fate
To stop thy pen, and still thy darling prate;
To live in solitude, oh! be thy luck, [2]
A chattering Magpie on the Isle of Muck."

Bozzi and Piozzi was unique. But there were other burlesque satires. The romantic tales of terror were convenient targets for the clever satirical parodist. Among the writers

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1. Peter Pindar, I, pp. 377-379.
2. Peter Pindar, I, 380.

of burlesque narrative poems, George Colman the Younger was perhaps the most notable in the last years of the eighteenth century.[1] My Nightgown and Slippers (1799), a collection of Colman's humorous verses, included The Maid of the Moor; or the Water Fiends, a poem written with the intention of laughing away the evil influence of romances and legendary tales. In it, Colman followed the plan of displaying the absurdity of romanticism by contrasting it with commonplace reality. For instance, he argues that there is no glamor about a ghost-story if the ghost is of low degree. Then he proceeds to back his argument with evidence. The maid of the moor is a cook whose lover, the gardener, has drowned himself in a well. Mourning for him,

> "Up to her chamber, damp and cold,
> She climbed Lord Hoppergollop's stair,
> Three stories high, long, dull and old,
> As great lords' stories often are."

The spooks of the gardener and his dog come after her:

> "The Fiends approach; the Maid did shrink;
> Swift through the night's foul air they spin;
> They took her to the green well's brink, [2]
> And with a souse they plumped her in."

Nothing very romantic about that, though after all the story does considerably resemble that of Bürger's Lenore.

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1. Among his poems was "A posthumous Work of S. Johnson", a story of Johnson's ghost in "tale of terror style". This satire upon the unscrupulous gossip of Johnson's biographers, is published in Wright's Croker's Boswell (London, 1888), X, pp. 191-193.

2. I quote from the 1871 edition of Colman's works: Broad Grins, My Nightgown and Slippers, and other humorous works, prose and poetical of George Colman the Younger, now first collected, with life and anecdotes of the author, ed. G. B. Buckstone (London).

Colman enjoyed some popularity as a satirist in the class with Peter Pindar.[1] As a matter of fact, he imitated Peter's humorous verses but shared little of his satirical spirit. Peter Pindar's burlesque tale of terror possessed more of amusing realism and of definite criticism than did Colman's. Orson and Ellen, which Dr. Wolcot called a "legendary tale", followed the same plan of contrasting common sense with romantic sentiment by telling in "Gothic" style a story about common people. His narrative takes the form of a burlesque ballad, some parts of which seem to have been written half in earnest with the purpose of showing the artistic value of realistic details.[2] The English motto is:

I try t'excel, in Legendary Tale,
   The Lady, Gentleman, and Miss, of Rhyme;
In vain, alas! My creeping efforts fail
   Far, far unequal to their march sublime.

The poem is in imitation of such pieces as The Hermit of Warkworth, in the simple ballad metre, with the true "popular" longwindedness. Peter pads his story with quatrains like:

"Of Peter Pindar now they talk'd,
   Who so divinely sings;
Renown'd from pole to pole for Odes,
   And compliments to Kings."

His hero is a young farmer who is also a libertine. His heroine is a barmaid. They have been betrothed in youth, but long parted. The whole action of the poem consists in Orson's spending the

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[1] Chesterfield Burlesqued, or, School for Modern Manners, 3d ed. (London, 1811) is dedicated to Colman as "first satirist of the age".

[2] Peter Pindar, V, 25-83.

night at the Inn

" whose sign display'd
The Lion in his might.
Yet how unlike the Royal Beast,
Who for his phiz ne'er sat!
Wherefore deriding tongues did call
The sign, the Old Red Cat."

At the end of a pleasant evening, during which the innkeeper, Orson, and Ellen sit in front of the fireplace drinking punch, telling stories, and singing songs, Orson recognizes Ellen. They are married next morning. Two typically unromantic, unclassical quatrains follow the announcement of Orson to the innkeeper that Ellen is his lost love:

"Well, now, good folks," quoth Boniface,
"I'll leave you, if ye choose,
To tell your tale, while I go take
A comfortable snooze."
Thus having said, old Boniface
March'd, hobbling, off to bed;
And put a good red night-cap on,
Of yarn, about his head." [1]

Of more importance than these pieces of general versified parody and burlesque which shot arrows of ridicule at antiquarian scholarship, biographical gossip, and romantic storytelling were the parodies aimed directly at individual poets and often at specific poems. Frequently such satires reprehended the stylistic errors or the wrong principles not of one man only but of the group or school which he represented. But the literary person was in these cases the immediate target and correction or elimination of follies which were his in common with other like-minded litterateurs was the ultimate objective, rarely attained at a single thrust of satire.

An early example of this kind was Campbell's Epilogue to The Sale of Authors (1767) "in the style and manner of David

[1] Peter Pindar, V, 75-76.

Garrick, Esq." It is a rather close imitation of Garrick's somewhat stiff fashion of composing in couplets the fore- and after-speeches of his and other people's plays, but its subject matter is so coarse and low as to make it rather unpleasant reading. The chief models for it were the epilogues to The English Merchant and The Clandestine Marriage, but there are snatches of mockery at the epilogues to Barbarossa and The Earl of Warwick and the Prologue to Cymon. The sharpest touches of criticism are in the burlesque of Garrick's trick of repeating the same words in series to fill out a line, as in this passage from his epilogue to The Clandestine Marriage:

"Miss Crot.
Such is the Play----- Your judgment. Never sham it.
C. Tril. Oh! Damn it.
Mrs. Quave. Damn it.
1st Lady. Damn it.
Miss. Crot. Damn it.
Lord. Min. Damn it."

which Campbell mimics thus:

Printer's Devil. And think you with such answer I can sham 'em ?
Printer. Then tell 'em Damn 'em!
Bookseller. Damn 'em!
Book-lender. Damn 'em! [1]
Book-binder. Damn 'em!

Here the critical import of the parody is not prominent. But as the years passed, parody for the purpose of literary satire grew more effective, though no less humorous.

One of the most famous groups of English parodies is the series of Probationary Odes which the Whig wits of Brooks' produced in 1785, soon after the accession of Thomas Warton to the laureatship. It consists of a series of burlesque odes, purport-

1. The Sale of Authors, pp. 142-143.

ing to be written by various candidates for the laureatship, and a considerable amount of explanatory material in waggish prose. It has been customary to find a source for the Probationary Odes in Isaac Browne's The Pipe of Tobacco (1736),[1] but with as good reason one might go back two years farther, to a collection of poems which were actually written in competition for a prize, The Contest: being Poetical Essays on the Queen's Grotto: "wrote in consequence of an invitation in the Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1733, wherein was Proposed, that the Author of the Best Piece be entitled to a volume for that year, Royal Paper, and finely bound in Morocco; and the Author of the second Best, to a Volume Common Paper" (London, 1734). Whatever the remote historical source, the direct derivation of the Probationary Odes was from a clever idea which Richard Tickell had been nursing for half a dozen years. In The Wreath of Fashion (1778), he suggests a competition among poets for the laureatship. Whitehead, the poet laureat, he there represents as fearful that other bards will bring verses and gifts to the Queen and so win her favor and his place. Tickell mentions also, in a note, a digression of Whitehead's "in the Pindaric stile of all Laureats." Tickell was, so far as records show, only a minor contributor to the Rolliad and the Political Eclogues, but it is an established fact that he took a leading part in the production of the Probationary Odes for the Laureatship, writing a large part of the introductory material in prose and all of two odes, and having a hand in the

[1] Fuess, Lord Byron as a Satirist in Verse, p. 28.

manufacture of at least one other.[1] It seems more than likely that he originated the scheme of writing the famous series of parodies.

About one third of the volume of the Probationary Odes is prose; there are notes in plenty, explanatory prefaces, "recommendatory testimonies", a preliminary discourse put into the mouth of the supposed editor, Sir John Hawkins, and "Thoughts on Ode Writing" by the Rev. Thomas Warton. The "Thoughts", the most amusing part of the prose burlesque, though rather coarse, mimic the Dryasdust style of scholarly "verbal criticisms and stale quotations". The parodies themselves are mainly of political import, but some of them have critical force, as has been mentioned in the chapter on the attitude of satire toward romanticism. The odes which were put into the mouths of poets were commonly written in an approximation of the supposed authors' styles. But the Whig wits employed a unique device for satirizing the cold formality of Thomas Warton's ode-making. They ridiculed him in the cruellest conceivable way when they published along with their specimens of mock-poetry his <u>bona fide</u> Ode in all its naked dullness. There are sixteen personified abstractions in the scant two pages of his poem. A typical conventional passage is as follows:

> "To kings like these, her genuine theme,
> The Muse a blameless homage pays;
> To GEORGE, of kings like these supreme,
> She wishes honour'd length of days,[2]
> Nor prostitutes the tribute of her lays."

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1. For information concerning the authorship of the <u>Rolliad</u> etc. see <u>Notes and Queries</u>, II, 38, 114, 173.
2. <u>The Rolliad...Probationary Odes...and Political Eclogues</u> (London, 1797), p. 381. Cf. also pp. 277-283, the account of Warton's balloon ascension.

Another interesting group is the series of New Probationary Odes which "Matthew Bramble" published in 1790. Bramble, one of the mildest of Peter Pindar's avowed imitators, was author of Odes to Actors and Monitory Madrigals to Musical Amateurs, as well as of at least one tragedy published over his own name, A. M'Donald. Upon the death of Thomas Warton, several poets wrote probationary odes; half a dozen of these Bramble collected and brought out along with five more of his own. The element of criticism in some of these has been discussed in a previous chapter. With regard to form, the most interesting of them is the poem attributed to Beattie, for it is in the Spenserian stanza. Most of the parodies are as pointless as that attributed to Mason, which begins:

> "For tuneful Thomas Warton gone,
> The turtle tells her plaintive moan."

and proceeds,

> "Luxuriant Fancy, pause; an hour so drear [1]
> Demands a serious song -- if not a tear."

Indeed these parodies are not of the best. While other literary satire was growing more pointed and forceful, critical parody lost ground for a few years, but it was to come to the fore again as effective and as wittily bitter as any directly critical literary satire since the Dunciad.

Robert Southey was not a bad parodist. His Amatory Poems of Abel Shufflebottom expose amusingly in sonnet and elegy the foibles and conceits of the Della Cruscans. But it is in the other point of view that one commonly associates Southey's

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1. Miscellaneous Works of A. M'Donald, p. 89.

name with parody; he, like Wordsworth and Poe, was an admirable model for aping wit. One of the best parodies in the language was written in imitation of a poem by Robert Southey. The Friend of Humanity and the Knife-grinder is humorous in a rather grim way; it is a rebuke for the expression of revolutionary ideas. Yet it is much more than a mere political satire; it is a piece of criticism of the bad taste and weak craftsmanship which Southey displayed in his poems in pseudo-classical metres. The Sapphics and dactylics of the parodies limp only a little more conspicuously than do Southey's own. It is interesting to observe, however, that in spite of their disapproval of the use of classical metres the poets of the Anti-Jacobin had no objection to imitation of the ancients; indeed among their poems there are almost as many imitations of Horace as mockeries of contemporary poets. Yet the Tory parodists were most spirited in their mockery of the conventional didacticism of such poems as Doctor Erasmus Darwin's Loves of the Plants and Payne Knight's The Progress of Civil Society (1796). A typical passage, in which his free opinions about matrimony are also ridiculed, follows:

> "Of whist or cribbage mark th' amusing game --
> The partners changing, but the sport the same.
> Else would the gamester's anxious ardour cool,
> Dull every deal, and stagnant every pool.
> ----Yet must one*Man, with one unceasing Wife,
> Play the long rubber of connubial life."[1]

All told, the parodies of the Anti-Jacobin were humorous and

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[1] Edmonds, Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, p. 136. The footnote concerning the word one in the fifth line is effective burlesque of the practice of explanatory annotation. "The word one here, means all the inhabitants of Europe (excepting the French, who have remedied this inconvenience), not any particular individual. The Author begs leave to disclaim every allusion that can be construed as personal."

effective, but their satire was rather more political than literary. Nevertheless, there is a power of criticism not to be despised in the keen sarcasms of The Knife-grinder, The Loves of the Triangles, The Progress of Man, and, best of all, The Rovers. And consequent events, the decline of popularity of the romantic drama and the didactic poem, would suggest that literary satire by means of parody was in these instances practically effective.

There were no important direct parodies in the decade before English Bards. But in 1812 appeared a powerful collection in the Rejected Addresses of Horace and James Smith. In the next decade, there were many influential satirical parodies, and parody has continued to be the chief means of literary satire ever since. There were few regular literary satires in the nineteenth century; after Byron, there is nothing to note but Lowell's Fable for Critics. Parody, on the other hand, still flourishes. Of course not all parodies are satirical, and many have no intention of casting aspersions upon the poems of which they are echoes.[1] Yet the best parodies are, says Mr. Christopher Stone, "a department of pure criticism".[2] Through the medium of mocking imitation, the spirit of satire still sends into the literary world its ouija-messages of stern judgment upon follies and defects.

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[1] See Parodies of the Works of English and American Authors collected and annotated by Walter Hamilton (London, 1884-1889).
[2] Parody (New York, n.d.), in Art and Craft of Letters Series, p. 18.

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